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The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century

By SIR IVOR ATKINS, F.S.A.

PART II

The Familia from the Middle of the Tenth to the beginning of the Twelfth century

THE principal authority for the early history of the church of Worcester is the famous Cartulary compiled about the end of the eleventh century by the Worcester monk, Hemming. Written partly in Latin, and partly in Anglo-Saxon, the volume contains for the most part transcripts of the various privileges and charters by which the monastery proved its title to the vast estates which it held at that time in Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Warwickshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Oxfordshire. It is not known with certainty when the cartulary passed out of the possession of the cathedral, but it is probable that it was amongst the many manuscripts dispersed after the dissolution of the monastery in 1540.

In the early part of the eighteenth century an edition of the cartulary, in two volumes, was prepared and produced by the great antiquary Hearne. This edition has never been reprinted and copies are now so scarce that they are only to be found in the great libraries.

Hemming explains the purpose of the book thus:

[Hemming, *Cart.*, p. 282; Tiberius A. XIII, f. 130]

Enucleatio Libelli

[Translation]

This little book concerning the estates of our monastery is the work of me, Hemming, a monk and priest (albeit unworthy), and fellow-servant of the

servants of God dwelling in the monastery of Mary, Holy Mother of God, in the city called in the English tongue Wigornaceaster.

Much have I learned from the lips of many of the old men, and chiefly from our most reverend father, the lord bishop Wulstan. Confirmed by his authority I have brought into it certain other matters which have come to my mind, either because I was present at the time or because they happened in our day, as for example matters concerning the lands which the French invaded. Of all of these I speak with the greater certainty because they were done within my own memory.

My chief purpose has been to make clear to future generations the nature and size of the estates which ought of right to belong to this monastery, for the support of the servants of God, to wit, the monks; and to show how by force or fraud we have been unjustly despoiled and deprived of them.

How far this work of mine may be of service the good God knows best; and to him I commit the whole matter. As far as my intention goes it is this: that when, some day, by God's grace, the heart of the king shall be established in justice (which now is in decay), and the law, which in our time has been thrown into confusion by the unrighteousness of princes, shall be reinstated, the bishop, the prior, or some other official of the monastery may know, when the right moment comes, how to claim the estates and to demand their restitution, that they may not be lost sight of in the clouds of ignorance and blotted out of remembrance.

For, the demand for restitution can in every case be made more easily, and with greater fitness, when it has been made clear what were the causes which led to the lands and possessions being taken from the monastery; and by whom, or at whose instigation they were seized. The vigorous and lawful claimant (*exactor*) will then be able to set out his claim, showing why the lands should by right belong to the monastery; and the claim being drawn up with greater authority—with the causes set out in detail, together with the persons and times—he will be in a better position to support it.

And I would have the friendly reader know that this work has not been undertaken from any presumption on my part, but at the request of many persons, and in particular by the command of our most reverend father, bishop Wulstan, of whom I have spoken before, and shall often have occasion to name, and by whose prayers I verily believe that I have been supported and guided in my task up to the end.

For in the pleasant conversations and friendly admonitions which as a loving father he so often delighted to address to us, he was wont to accuse us of sluggishness and laziness, not only naming me expressly, but all the brethren who happened to be present. Why were we so steeped in sloth, showing ourselves unwilling to commit to writing a record of things that had happened in the past, or in our own day, at all events of matters which affected the property of our church—especially as we had seen many things done under our own eyes. He himself, as was natural in a man of venerable old age whose hair had grown hoary, could recall many things which were not stored up in the memory of many.

He would often say, too, that under God's good hand no slight benefit would accrue to this monastery in the time of those who came after us if

such things were committed to writing: just as, on the other hand, if they were neglected a loss would fall if it should happen that no one was left living who could recall the facts to memory, or know how to relate the truth or sequence of events to that generation.

Profoundly stirred by these exhortations, and feeling myself under compulsion by the command which the bishop laid upon me, I began to address myself to the present work, trusting rather in the prayers of him who ordered it than in any strength of my own. For this, our most reverend father, though he coveted little the things of this world, strove with might and main for what was of advantage to this monastery. And he exercised the most watchful care lest in the ages to come the church committed to his charge should suffer loss from any negligence on his part, as had happened in the case of some of his predecessors.

This it was that led him to order the muniment chest to be opened in his presence, and to make a thorough examination of all the ancient privileges and charters relating to the estates of this church, lest perchance, through the carelessness of those who had had charge of them, they had become decayed, or had been removed by the covetousness of dishonest persons.

And when he found that in some cases what he suspected had indeed happened, he was at great pains to repair the decayed documents, and to recover those which had been dishonestly removed, taking care after getting them into his possession to assemble and arrange them in two volumes.

In the one he grouped all the early privileges and charters in which it was manifested how, and by whom the estates were, in the first place, given to this monastery. In the other he placed the chirographs by which the Blessed Oswald, the archbishop, with the help of King Edgar, established the church's title to lands which at some time had been wrongfully seized by magnates, making clear to his successors by his writings that these lands, by the king's command and with the sanction of the Witan and the witness of the nobles of the land, were to be restored to the church's rule after a period of two or three lives, each leaseholder being bound by the chirograph, and copies of the chirographs being placed in the chest of the holy church in witness thereof.¹

When he had ordered matters in this way he gave instructions that all the documents should be transcribed in the same order in the bible of the holy church,² so that, if through negligence the deeds of bequest (*testamentales scedulae*) should be lost, as sometimes happens, the copies which had been entered therein would at all events remain.

And when this also had been done in accordance with his will and command, the bishop directed further that all the privileges and chirographs of lands specially relating to the support of the monks should be brought together separately, and that these also should be arranged in the same order in two volumes. And the friendly reader may perceive that, in obedience to

¹ See also Oswald's letter to King Edgar (Hemming, *Cart.* 292-6; K.C.D. 1287). The whole subject is discussed in Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond* (pp. 305-7).

² *in bibliotheca Sancte ecclesie*. See Appendix I. Some may prefer to read 'in the library'.

the command laid upon me, I have done this, to the best of my humble ability, in the little volume which lies before him.

I pray, therefore, that if this humble work of mine should appeal to any man, such a one will not refuse to bestow on me, a sinner, the reward of his prayers. But if any find no pleasure in it, or deem it unnecessary I would have him know that I have not laboured for the idle and over-critical but for those who are active and alive in their interests. And I have dedicated this work to those who never hesitate to strive with might and main for the good and increase of Holy Mother Church and to expend themselves in her service when the need arises.

May Almighty God grant that the honour and power of Holy Church may grow and increase to the praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit liveth and reigneth God for ever and ever. Amen.

Before passing on, a word may be said about Hemming's accuracy as a transcriber.

By a fortunate chance there are still in existence in the British Museum what are probably the originals of some of the Latin and Anglo-Saxon charters which he copied. We are thus able to control Hemming's text in the two classes of documents upon which he worked. We may consider first the Latin charters. Amongst those which have survived are two of the eighth century, Add. Charters 19789 and 19790. If these are compared with Hemming's transcripts¹ it will be found that in each case the Worcester monk has reproduced the text with great fidelity. Except for occasional variations in the spellings, or for a change in the order of the words which does not affect their meaning, the transcription is exceedingly accurate.

But when he is reproducing the names of witnesses Hemming is not so faithful. In the first charter, for example, he gives only three out of thirteen names in the original charter. Again, in his transcription of the second charter he omits the names of the last fourteen *ministri*. Moreover, he varies the order of the signatures which he reproduces. From this we must conclude that while Hemming was extremely punctilious about the text of a document he was less careful about the names of the witnesses, probably regarding them as of secondary importance. On the other hand, when he is transcribing documents nearer his own time he is more accurate in such details.

These lists of witnesses are very important, and I hope to draw, from such Worcester charters of the tenth and eleventh centuries as are available, information which may be of service in throwing light upon the history of the monastery and the monastic household. I begin with a document of the pre-monastic

¹ Hemming, pp. 52-3 and 109-10.

period, choosing a charter of the year 957, the last year of Bishop Coenwald's episcopate. Coenwald was the predecessor of St. Dunstan and St. Oswald. It is therefore interesting to know that Coenwald himself is said to have been a monk. It was probably for this reason that he was chosen by King Athelstan to take charge of the special mission which went from England in 929 to the monasteries of Germany, and of which there are records still extant. Coenwald was bishop of Worcester for about twenty-eight years, and during this time may, to some extent, have prepared the ground for the great changes brought about in the next few years by Dunstan and Oswald.

The charter from which the following list of witnesses is taken is one setting forth the terms of a grant of land at Grimanhylle (Grimley) made by Bishop Coenwald to Behstan, a priest of the Worcester *familia* ('Behstano ejusdem monasterio presbitero'). The *familia* at that time consisted of a body of secular priests, and the word *monasterium* or *minster* does not here imply a monastic church but is used in the sense which is perpetuated to-day when we speak of York 'minster'.

Here, then, is the *familia* of Coenwald's time—a body of secular priests, deacons, and clerks:

[Hemming, *Cart.* i, 164-5]

COENWALD

(bishop of Worcester 929-57)

A.D. 957

✗ Koenwald	✗ Behstan	✗ Wulfric	✗ Æpelstan
✗ Wulfnoð	✗ Ælfred	✗ Wulfric	✗ Eadstan
✗ Oswulf	✗ Ælfred	✗ Wulfric	✗ Cynesige
✗ Cynethegn clericus		✗ Ælfstan	

There is nothing here to show how the *familia* was constituted—how many priests, deacons, or clerks. The only witness described is Cynethegn the clerk. But we know from the body of the charter that Behstan was a priest. Cynethegn was probably the clerk who drew up the deed. He continued to act as amanuensis to the church of Worcester up to about the time of Cnut.

St. Dunstan succeeded Coenwald, but no Worcester charter of his has survived. Dunstan held the see from 957 to 960, when he was followed by Oswald. It is often stated that Oswald became bishop in 961, but one of that bishop's leases, dated 967, 'in the eighth year that Oswald bishop took office',¹ corrects this.

The long series of this bishop's leases begins in 962 and ends in 991. Except for an unaccountable break between the years 970-6 the leases cover practically the whole of Oswald's episco-

¹ Hemming, i, 127.

pate. They appear to have been witnessed by the whole body of cathedral clergy, and we should therefore expect them to afford a means of observing the changes which the bishop introduced. But, as we shall see later, these changes are not at all easy to detect.

The earliest are four leases bearing the date 962.¹ The following list, which is taken from one of these, shows that for the most part the witnesses are the same as those in 957. But in the intervening years four have dropped out, and there is this difference, that the witnesses are now described. We are therefore able to determine the composition of the *familia* at the beginning of Oswald's episcopate. If we add one more name, that of Wynstan, a clerk, which we take from another lease of the same year, we see that in 962 it was made up of two priests, one deacon, and fifteen clerks. [Hemming, *Cart.*, pp. 145-7]

OSWALD

(bishop of Worcester 960-92)

A.D. 962

✠ Ego Osuuald episcopus	✠ Ego Cynesige clericus
✠ Ego wulfric presbiter	✠ Ego Cýneþeƿn clericus
✠ Ego ælfred clericus	✠ Ego wulfgar clericus
✠ Ego Kýnstan clericus	✠ Ego ælfriċ diaconus
✠ Ego cadwine clericus	✠ Ego wistān clericus
✠ Ego æþelnod presbiter	✠ Ego Eadgar clericus
✠ Ego wulfun clericus	✠ Ego wulfheah clericus
✠ Ego ælfstan clericus	✠ Ego wulfric clericus
✠ Ego Býrhstan clericus	
✠ Ego æþelstan clericus	

Many charters still survived amongst the cathedral muniments until well after the Commonwealth—in all probability up to the end of the seventeenth century. About that time, for reasons which have never been explained, most of them passed out of the keeping of the Dean and Chapter. Some twenty-four are known to have come into the possession of Lord Somers. Happily for us, these were transcribed and included by Dr. John Smith in the Appendix to his edition of Bede's works, printed in 1722. It was indeed fortunate, for all these charters have long since disappeared. There is little doubt that with other papers which formed Lord Somers's collection they perished by fire about the year 1752.²

The list of the *familia* given below is taken from one of the charters which perished in this way. It is an agreement by which in return for a grant of land at Bradanbeorge and

¹ Oswald's leases are discussed at length by Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 304-14. ² Turner, *Early Worcester MSS.*, xxxi.

Holdfast, 'the clerks of the city', as the *familia* are described, received three farms at Spetchley for the grazing of the hundred pigs necessary for their use. This deed is dated 967 and is one of those not found in Hemming. Twenty-one years later,¹ when the church had long since become a monastic body, the lease was renewed—with a change in the grantee—in identical language, and with the same reference to 'clerks of the city'. Possibly this was due to carelessness on the part of those responsible for drafting the legal documents of the monastery.

[Smith, *Baeda*, p. 774]

OSWALD

Grant of land at Bradanbeorh and Holenfesten.

A.D. 967

¶ Wulfric mæssepreost. ¶ Aelfred cleric. ¶ Byrstan cleric. ¶ Ufic cleric.
 ¶ Edgar mæssepreost. ¶ Wulfun cleric. ¶ Wulfgar cleric. ¶ Wulfeh cleric.
 ¶ Aethelstan mæssepreost. ¶ Aelfstan cleric. ¶ Aelfgar cleric. ¶ Leofwine cleric.

In setting out the names in four columns Smith is, no doubt, following the original. Hemming, on the other hand, sometimes alters the lay-out and changes the word 'mæsse preost' of early charters to 'presbiter'.

The numbers of the *familia*, as seen here, three priests and nine clerks, appear to have dwindled considerably, but we cannot be sure that they represent its full strength. Two years later, as we shall see, there were four priests and fourteen clerks.

On an earlier page attention was drawn to the fact that the originals of some of the charters which Hemming copied are still in existence. Instances were given of Latin examples. There are several Anglo-Saxon charters transcribed by Hemming which have survived in the same way. One of these is a charter of the year 969 (Add. Ch. 19792). It is possible to place the original side by side with Hemming's transcription, for both are now in the British Museum. If we compared the two we should find that Hemming shows the same accuracy in transcribing an Anglo-Saxon text that we noticed in the case of Latin charters. But again he is not so exact in the way he reproduces the witnesses.

Here are the witnesses to this deed of 969:

- (a) As they appear in the original chirograph,
- (b) As copied by Hemming.

[Add. Chart. 19792]

OSWALD

Lease of land at Teottingtun and Ælfsgetun A.D. 969.

+wulfric mæsse preost.	+aelfred cleric	+cynsige cl	+eadward cl	+leofwine cl
+edgar mæsse preost.	+wulfun cleric	+ælfstan cl	+tuna cl	+wulfnōd cl
+æfelstan mæsse preost.	+brihstan cleric	+eadwine cl	+ufic cl	
+wistan mæsse preost.	+wulfgar cleric	+aelfga cl	+wulfheah cl	

¹ Hemming, 173-4.

[Hemming, *Cart.*; Tiberius A. XIII, f. 84]

+ Her is seo hond reten oswaldes bisceopes.	7 unna þæs hierodes
on wiogorna ceastre + wulfric prbt	+ eadgar prbt
+ æpelstan prbt	+ brihstan clr
+ wistan prbt	+ wulfgar clr
+ ælfred clr	+ cýnsige clr
+ wulfhun clr	+ ælfstan clr
+ ufic clr	+ wulfheah clr
+ wulfnoð clr	+ leofwine clr

It will be seen that Hemming changes 'mæsse þreost' into 'presbiter' and that he alters the arrangement of the names. In the original these are disposed in five columns which read downwards. Hemming throws them into three and completely changes their order.¹ When reproducing this charter Hearne again altered the order. The matter is of some importance, as the disposition of the names in the original often affords the only clue to the order of seniority.

The above list shows four priests and fourteen clerks, but we gather from another charter of the same year that these are not the full numbers for the year 969. To get these we have to add the names of Johan, priest, Ælfsgige, deacon, Wunstan and Wulfheah, clerks. The complete numbers for that year would then seem to be twenty-three. The noticeable change is the increase, from two to five, in the number of the priests.

Whether these lists for the year 969 represent the last of the pre-monastic series, or the earliest of the monastic, there is nothing to show. But we have it on the authority of the Synod of 1092 that the church of Worcester in the year 969 passed 'from the irregular life of clerks to the regular life of monks'. Though the records which have survived afford little or no evidence that the change was effected so early, we must accept the statement in view of the fact that those who were appointed by St. Wulstan to inquire into the matter are likely to have had much more evidence to draw upon than we have to-day.

After 969 there is an unaccountable break in the series of Oswald's leases, and we have to wait until 977 for the next. We then come upon a charter which is unique amongst Worcester documents. For the first and last time the word *monachus* is used in describing some ten of the *familia*. The sudden appearance of a list of this kind amongst a mass of Oswald's leases which adopt a different classification is striking and almost dramatic. We cannot but wonder what were the special circumstances which produced so complete a departure from custom.

¹ Hemming, 178-9.

Perhaps, on the whole, it is as well that this particular style was never again used, for the word *monachus* in some ways does not carry us very far. We do not know whether the person so described is priest, deacon, or clerk; for the word *monachus* covered all three.

Here, then, is this very unusual list which I have transcribed direct from Hemming's manuscript.

[Tiberius A. XIII, f. 91 b]

Oswald, archbishop

Lease of land at Eastune to Cynulf

A.D. 977

✠ Ego Oswald archiepiscopus consensi et conscripsi

+ Ego wynsige mon	+ Ego ælfisige mon	+ Ego wulfric cl
+ Ego wulfheh mon	+ Ego leofwine mon	+ Ego Cyneþeng cl
+ Ego æpelstan mon	+ Ego ælfgar mon	+ Ego wulfhun cl
+ Ego æpelsige mon	+ Ego æpelric mon	+ Ego Eadgar pr
+ Ego æpelstan mon	+ Ego Brihstan clr	+ Ego wulfgar clr
+ Ego wulfweard mon	+ Ego Eadweard clr	+ Ego leofstan diac
+ Ego Eadwine clr	+ Ego æpelwold clr	+ Ego Tuna clr
+ Ego Godingc clr	+ Ego ælfstan clr	+ Ego Cynstan clr
+ Ego ælfstan clr	+ Ego wulfnoð clr	+ Ego wunstan clr

This list shows twenty-seven names. It does not, however, include all the *familia* for this year. From other lists we must add the names of Wistan, priest, and Ælfnoth, Ufuc, Wulfwine, clerks. We then get a total of 31, made up of 8 priests, 5 deacons, and 18 clerks. Compared with 969 this shows a great rise in the number of priests and deacons.

We pass on to a list drawn from an original charter dated 984 which is amongst other Worcester charters that have found their way to the British Museum. It was not transcribed by Hemming. Possibly the charter had already disappeared when he began the work of copying. The list is included here in order to present yet another example of the method adopted in original documents of the tenth century in setting out the names of witnesses. We see that the word *presbiter* now replaces *mæsse preost*. In the seven years which have passed since the 977 list the numbers have fallen from 31 to 19—a considerable drop.

[Add. Chart. 19794]

Oswald, archbishop
Lease of land at Caldingc-cotan

A.D. 984

Ego oswold archiepīs.	Ego wistan prbt.	Ego godingc diac.	Ego leofwine cl.
Ego wýnsige prbt.	Ego eadward prbt.	Ego leofstan diac.	Ego ufuc cl.
Ego æpelstan prbt.	Ego æpelsige prbt.	Ego wulfhún cl.	Ego ælfnoð cl.
Ego ælfisige prbt.	Ego wulfward diac.	Ego cynepēgn cl.	Ego æpelwold cl.
Ego eadgar prbt.	Ego æpric diac.	Ego wulfgar cl.	Ego wulfnoð cl.

Our next extract is drawn from a deed of 990. This document is particularly interesting because it has come down to us in two independent transcriptions, the one made c. 1100 by Hemming, the other about six hundred years later by Dean Hickes. That Hickes had an original charter before him is almost certain, because he uses the document to illustrate various forms of writing adopted by Anglo-Saxon scribes. The variations in the text are quite unimportant, though some of the differences in spelling are strange. What is more important is the difference in the disposition of the names of the witnesses. Hemming crowds them into two columns. Hickes sets them out in four; and this is exactly what we should expect from what we have seen of the originals of other charters of the same period.

There is another interesting difference. Hemming gives 'primus' only (after Æthelstan's name): Hickes (in contracted form) 'primus monachus', a title which occurs nowhere else in Worcester documents.

[Hickes, *Thesaurus*, i, 140 (from an original charter); Hemming, 180-1]

OSWALD,		
archbishop, leases land at Mortun to		A.D. 990
Biornage ¹ and Brycstane ²		
☩ oswald arcebiscup	☩ wistan p̄.	☩ leofstan diac.
☩ æpelstan pri' mō.	☩ æpelsige p̄.	☩ wulfward diac.
☩ ælfseige p̄.	☩ æpelstan p̄.	☩ æpelric diac.
☩ edgar p̄.	☩ godinc diac.	☩ cynepen cl.
		☩ wulfwine cl.
		☩ wulfgar cl.
		☩ leofwin mōn. ³
		☩ wulfric cl.
		☩ wulfnāþ cl.

In this year the *familia* consisted of six priests, four deacons, and six clerks—sixteen in all. We are now getting to the end of Oswald's episcopate. There are only three leases for 991; one of these adds the name of Godwin, a clerk, who in after years rose to the priorate. In the following year (992) Oswald died.

From 977 to 991 the numbers show a gradual decline. In 977 the *familia* numbered 31; in 984 19, and in 990 16. This falling-off was to some extent due to the unsettled state of the country after the death of King Edgar, but it is likely that it was in part due to reaction. The force of the wave which had spread monasticism so rapidly in the middle of the century had by now become spent.

After the death of Oswald charters appear only fitfully, and there is much less material to go upon. Nevertheless, such charters as have survived do enable us to gain some idea of the

¹ Hemming: Beorhnæge.

² Hemming: Býrhstane.

³ Hemming: Leofwine clericus.

vicissitudes through which the monastery was passing, and they afford a glimpse from time to time of the inmates and their numbers. Where there are no charters to guide us some of the gaps in our information are filled by Hemming, who in the course of his account of the estates of the monastery gives occasional peeps into its history. That account is no doubt based to a very large extent upon what the writer had learnt in conversations with Bishop Wulstan, whose mind after sixty years' association with the monastery had become stored with innumerable facts relating to its history.

Before we pass from Oswald's leases we may notice one or two interesting facts which they reveal. It comes upon us as a surprise to learn that the monks of that day were able to hold land as individuals. Thus in 977 Oswald leases land at Washbourne to his fellow monk Wynsige (then prior), 'to hold as Wulfstan his father had held it'.¹

It is interesting, too, to find that the word *clericus* could be used to describe one who was a monk. For example, Leofwine is described in a deed of 977 as *monachus*, but in later documents down to 996 he appears sometimes as *monachus*, sometimes as *clericus*. It is perhaps less strange to find that the Anglo-Saxon *preoste* covered both the Latin *diaconus* and *clericus*.²

The first prior of the monastery was Wynsige, whose name we find at the head of the monks in 977. Except in one instance when he is described as 'primus', Wynsige never receives a title. Æthelstan, his successor, is invariably described, however, as 'primus', or in one instance, as we have seen, as 'primus monachus'. As there were at the time two Æthelstans, and the second is always styled 'secundus',³ we should have been disposed to look upon the word 'primus' as a means of distinguishing the two. But that this was not so is proved by the title being used of Wynsige also.

After Æthelstan no title was used again until about the middle of the eleventh century, when we find 'decanus' used in the sense of 'prior'.⁴ In tracing the succession of priors after Æthelstan we have to be guided by the order of the names in the records, or by such information as we are able to gather from Hemming's pages. We are helped to a certain extent, too, by the Obits found in the Kalendar of Wulfstan's Homiliary, to which I shall refer later.

¹ Hemming, p. 175.

² Hemming, pp. 139 and 143.

³ e.g. Hemming, p. 173.

⁴ We find 'decanus' in a deed of 974 (H., p. 155), but this goes to show that that document has not come down to us in its original form. See also J. Armitage Robinson, *St. Oswald and the Church of Worcester*, p. 35.

Of Wynsige the first prior we learn from the record of the proceedings of the Synod of 1092¹ that before becoming a monk he had been a secular priest, and had held the church of St. Helen as vicar. Giving up the keys of that church in order to prepare for a monastic life he went to Ramsey, where he received his training in the monastery which Oswald with Ethelwin's aid had recently founded. 'In the third year of his conversion'—when that was is not known—Oswald is said to have recalled Wynsige to Worcester, and to have made him prior of the newly established monastery.

Wynsige remained in office until some time between 985 and 987. He was then succeeded by Æthelstan, who first appears at the head of the *familia* in 987.² The latter had been sacrist from 963. Æthelstan's name continues to figure in charters until 991.

How long he remained in office is not known, for there are no records after 991 until 996. In that year, or in the interval between 991 and 996, Æthelstan was succeeded as prior by Æthelsige.

The only charter of Oswald's successor, Archbishop Aldulf, which has survived is one from which the following names are taken:
[Hemming, *Chart.*, 191; Tiberius A. XIII, f. 89 b]

ALDULF, archbishop, [992-1002]

lease of land at Huneshom

A.D. 996

✠ Ealdulfus archipontifex	
✠ æpelsige prbt	✠ ætheric diaç
✠ ælfisige prbt	✠ cynepeng clr
✠ hæhward prbt	✠ wulfgar clr
✠ æpelstan prbt	✠ leofwine mōn
✠ dauid prbt	✠ wulfric clr
✠ Godingc diaç	✠ wulfnoð clr
✠ leofstan diaç	✠ wulfwine clr

Before becoming bishop of Worcester Aldulf had been abbot of Peterborough, where he had been placed by Bishop Ethelwold after the refounding of that monastery. Like Oswald, Aldulf held the sees of Worcester and York together. His most notable achievement at Worcester was the erection of a costly shrine to receive the remains of St. Oswald. The translation was carried out with great ceremony on 5th April 1002, and has been described at great length by Eadmer in his *Life of Oswald*.³ Just two months after the translation the archbishop died at Worcester (4th June 1002) and was buried in the cathedral. He had held

¹ See later under 1092.

² There are no charters between 985 and 987.

³ Eadmer, *Vita Oswaldi* in Raine's *Historians of the Church of York* (R.S.), ii, 45-8.

both sees for ten years. Like Oswald, Archbishop Aldulf had been connected with the monastery of Fleury, and at his death made bequests to that community.

The only new names in the above list are those of Hæhwald and David. But many of the old men have disappeared. Æthelsige, whose name now heads the list, was the first of two priors of that name whose Obits are found in the Kalendar of Wulstan's Homiliary. The first, whom we must distinguish as Æthelsige I, comes on to the scene in charters of 977, at which time he was a deacon. It is likely that he was one of the small body of monks brought by Wynsige, the first prior, from Ramsey choir. How long Æthelsige I remained prior is not known. Some time between 996 and 1016 he was succeeded by the second prior of that name, the Ælfssige of the document before us. Æthelsige II, Bishop Wulstan tells us, was a man of noble birth, wise in secular as in monastic affairs, and high in the estimation of the king. He is said to have died during the time of strife which followed after King Ethelred's death. This would be about 1016.¹ But it may have been earlier, for we know from a passage in Hemming's chartulary that the clerk Cynethegn, who had been connected with the church of Worcester from the days of Bishop Coenwald, was still alive in the days of Æthelsige's successor Godwin, and indeed had secured the lease of property from the new prior. In 1016 Cynethegn must have been well over eighty.

The two Æthelsiges had lived in the time of Archbishops Aldulf and Wulfstan. The latter, who succeeded to Worcester and York on the death of Aldulf, is said by Florence of Worcester to have been an abbot at the time of his appointment to Worcester. But this is an error. He had been bishop of London, and had relinquished that office to become archbishop of York and bishop of Worcester. Though it had long been thought that the bishop of that name who held the see of London from 996 to about 1002 was to be connected with Wulfstan who became bishop of Worcester in 1002, it was left to a recent writer to establish that fact beyond dispute.²

It is quite likely that Archbishop Wulfstan had been an abbot at an earlier period, possibly of one of the monasteries in the Fen country, for he was held in high honour at Ely, where in the end he was buried.³ This possible connexion with the Fen

¹ Hemming, pp. 276-7.

² Miss Dorothy Whitelock, 'A note on the career of Wulfstan the Homilist', *E.H.R.*, July 1937.

³ *Liber Eliensis*, p. 205, where it is stated that he was first monk and afterwards abbot.

country finds some support in the fact that in 1016 Wulfstan brought in Leofsy, who had been abbot of Thorney, to be bishop of Worcester, while he himself retained in his hands the archbishopric. There can be no question that Wulfstan was one of the greatest ecclesiastics of his day and one of the most remarkable of Worcester's bishops. It has never been easy to understand why in the twelfth century Worcester monks styled this bishop 'reprobus'. The monks added by way of explanation the words 'nam nimis erravit dum nos rebus spoliavit'. But the strange thing is that not a word of accusation was brought against the archbishop by Hemming in any of the many passages in which he discusses the various losses of property suffered by the monastery. Yet the latter is constantly citing the spoliations of Bishop Brihtheah, who was Archbishop Wulfstan's nephew. Brihtheah is again and again accused of alienating property of the monastery. At the same time it is fair to state that Hemming seems to have known very little about Wulfstan. Indeed it is doubtful whether the latter's name is mentioned in the course of the cartulary.

Perhaps what happened was that in 1016, when Wulfstan gave up the see of Worcester while retaining that of York, he detached some of the monastery's estates for the support of the archbishopric. Leofsy, who was then made bishop of Worcester, appears to have been never more than a suffragan, the see remaining largely under the government of Archbishop Wulfstan.

We shall get a better view of Worcester monastery at this time if we have before us lists from three charters, the first dating c. 1010, the others 1016 and 1017 respectively.

[Add. Chart. 19795]

WULFSTAN, archbishop		A.D. 1002—1016
Grant of land at Pyriæ to Wulgyuu.		[c. 1010]
Ego wulfstan archiſſul	Ego æpelric diac	Ego wulfwarð cl
Ego eadric prb	Ego ælfgar diac	Ego leofric cl
Ego wulfwine prb	Ego purferð diac	Ego æfelwine cl
		Ego eadric mil
		Ego býrhwine mil
		Ego leofric mil

[Smith, *Baeda*, p. 779 (K.C.D. 724)]

LEOFSIGE, bishop		A.D. 1016
of Worcester, with consent of Wulfstan		
archbishop, grants land at Biscopes dun and		
Tidington		
+ Ego Wulfstanus Archiepisc. Eboracensis		
+ Ego Leofsinus episcopus. Ego Aepelstanus episc.		
+ Ego Godwine sacerdos.	+ Ego Aeglwine leuita	
+ Ego Wulfwine sacerdos.	+ Ego Byrtmær leuita	
+ Ego Aelmær sacerdos.	+ Ego Wilstan leuita.	
+ Ego Wulfwi sacerdos.	+ Ego Berhtwine leuita.	

[Hickes, *Thesaurus*; Harl. MS. 4660, f. 9 b (from the original)]

WULFSTAN,

A.D. 1017

archbishop, grants land at beonet leah
[Bentley] to his brother Elfseige

+ Ego Wulfstan in humiliata ecclesiarches cum caractere crucis consignauit.			
+ Ego godwine eps	+ go eadric DUX.	+ go ælfgar MIN.	+ go eadric prbt.
confirmaui.			
+ Ego æfelstan eps	+ go leofwine DUX.	+ go ægelwerd MIN.	+ go godwine prbt
adquievi.			
+ Ego brihtwold eps	+ go norþman MIN.	+ go leofric MIN.	+ go wulfwine prbt.
adnuo.			
+ Ego af a abbas.	+ go eadric MIN.	+ go brihtwine	+ go æfelwine prbt.
+ Ego ælfweard abb	+ go eadwine MIN.	+ go leofnoth	+ go ælmær prbt.
+ Ego leofwine	+ go æperic diac.	+ go wilstan diac.	+ go wulfwig prbt.
monach.			+ go ælfgar diac.

The first of these charters is a grant of land at Pirie (a manor of which Perry Wood formed part), to a certain matron named Wulgifu. It is possible that Wulgifu was the mother of St. Wulstan, though the name appears elsewhere in Worcester documents.¹ It is clearly the earliest of the charters before us, for Æthelwin, a witness to all three, appears in it as a clerk, the later charters showing him advanced to deacon and priest. The disappearance in the charters of 1016 and 1017 of some of the names which appear in this charter suggests for it a date about 1010.

The second charter, dated 1016, gives our first glimpse of the monk Wilstan, who has so often been confused with St. Wulstan. In after years Wilstan became abbot of Gloucester, while Wulstan, his fellow monk, became prior and later bishop of Worcester.

In the 1017 charter the absence of Bishop Leofsy's name is remarkable. Here, as in the first charter, the name of Eadric stands at the head of the monastic witnesses, while in Bishop Leofsy's 1016 charter Godwin's name appears in this position. Possibly Leofsy found qualities in Godwin which made the latter a more suitable choice as prior. Archbishop Wulfstan seems to have attached Eadric to himself. Perhaps we may identify this monk with the Eadric whom the archbishop made abbot of Gloucester when, about this time, at the command of King Cnut, he remodelled Gloucester as a Benedictine monastery.²

The array of witnesses in this 1017 document shows that it

¹ Hemming, p. 153.

² The Homiliary Obits, however, which are given on a later page, include one of Eadric, priest. Gloucester was refounded by Wulfstan by command of Cnut between 1017 and 1022. The only charter relating to it (K.C.D. 1317) is dated 'circiter millesimo vicesimo secundo'. It was certainly founded before 1022.

was executed on an occasion of importance—perhaps at a time when Cnut and his court were at Worcester. Amongst the ecclesiastics brought together are three bishops, Godwine of Rochester, Æthelstan of Hereford, and Brihtwold of Ramsbury; two abbots, Ælfward of Evesham, and Afa whose name will be seen in a later Evesham charter but of whom nothing is known.¹ Amongst the nobles were Eadric Streona, Leofwine the ealdorman, father of Earl Leofric, and the latter's brother Northman. There were also present six *ministri*. Within the year both Eadric Streona and Northman were slain by the command of King Cnut.

The three charters together give a total of sixteen for the *familia*. This may not have been the whole strength of the monastic household, but may be taken as a fair indication of the numbers at that time.

The next documents from which I shall quote are two charters which are remarkable from the fact that in each Archbishop Wulfstan is associated with a monk bearing the name of Brihteh. The first, which is a covenant between the archbishop and his brother-in-law Wulfric, made at the time that the latter married Wulfstan's sister, contains the terms of the marriage settlement.

[Smith, *Baeda*, p. 778; Hickes, *Diss. Epist.*, p. 76]

WULFSTAN, archbishop
Covenant with Wulfric

A.D. 1014-1023
[c. 1017]

Wulfstan arceb. Leofwine ealdorman. Brihteh munuc
Æfelstan bisc. Ælfword abt.

and many good men besides them, both ordained and lay.

The second charter is an Evesham document which sets forth the terms of a lease granted by Ælfward, abbot, and the monastery of Evesham to one Æthelmær.

[Add. Chart. 19796]

ÆLFWERD, abbot
and the Monastery at Evesham

A.D. 1017-1019
[c. 1017]

ælfgeofu seo hlæfdie þe þæs mýnstrs walt. 7 wulfstan arcebiscop

leofsige biscop ælfsiȝe abb leofsige abb.
býrhwold biscop ælfwerd abb. afa abb.

hacun eorl leofwine ealdorman. byrhteg munuc
eglaf eorl leofric. eadwine býrhwine. ælfsiȝe in

[In the original the names are carried straight across in columns of two]

In these two last charters, which I have ventured to date c. 1017, we notice three witnesses common to both documents, namely Archbishop Wulfstan, Ælfward, the abbot of Evesham,

¹ He may perhaps be identified with Aua, abbot of Exeter, c. 1019 [K.C.D. 729].

and Brihteh, or Byrhteg,¹ a monk. Abbot Ælfward, who afterwards became bishop of London, was one of the most forceful men of his day, and his association with Archbishop Wulfstan is a perfectly natural one; but who was the monk Brihteh, and how does he come to be a witness in a covenant which affected the marriage of Wulfstan's sister?

We can find an answer to this question, I think, by connecting the monk Brihteh with Brihteah, afterwards bishop of Worcester (1033–8), who is known to have been a nephew of Archbishop Wulfstan. The fact of Brihteh's name appearing in an Evesham charter—indeed it is possible that both charters were witnessed at that monastery—suggests that the latter was a monk of Evesham. He may even have been prior at the time. At a later date Brihteh became abbot of Pershore, probably in 1020 or thereabouts, when the monastery was rebuilt.

From 1017 to 1038 there is a gap in Worcester charters. We may take this opportunity to glance at the history of Pershore after 975, when the monastery had been plundered by Ælfhere the Ealdorman. The troubles of that house did not end with Ælfhere's depredations. We learn that it was afterwards destroyed by fire. But in the early part of the next century, probably about 1018, the rebuilding of the abbey was taken in hand, and Leland states that the church was opened again in 1020.²

Cnut's heart was set upon restoring the Benedictines to their monasteries, and we shall probably be right in thinking that the rebuilding and re-endowment of Pershore were due to the enthusiasm of that king. Cnut is known to have been in close touch with the neighbouring monastery of Evesham, with whose abbot, Ælfward, he is said to have had ties of kinship. He must therefore have been made aware of the wretched state of Pershore. And we may safely trace a large measure of the re-endowment of that monastery to the great Worcestershire noble Odda, whose lands lay so near to Pershore and who, as Ælfhere's heir, must have been anxious to take his part in re-establishing a monastery which had suffered so much at Ælfhere's hands. And it seems equally probable that Brihteah owed his appointment to the abbacy of Pershore to King Cnut, with whom, if he were a monk of Evesham, he must have been brought into contact. There is evidence that Cnut held Brihteah in high esteem in the fact that that king entrusted to the latter when bishop of Worcester the

¹ There are many forms of the name, e.g. (amongst others) Beorhteah, Brihteah.

² Leland, *Collectanea*, i, 242, A.D. 1020: 'Introitus fuit Persorensis novae ecclesiae post combustionem.'

care of his daughter Gunhild when she was sent over sea to Germany after her betrothal to Henry III.

Abbot Brihteah left Pershore in 1033 to become bishop of Worcester. Only one of his charters as bishop has survived.¹ It is undated, but it is significant that it is said to have been witnessed by the families of Worcester, Gloucester, Evesham, and Pershore. Unfortunately no names are given.

Midway in Brihteah's episcopacy Godwin the prior of Worcester died. We learn from a passage in Hemming² that this was some time before 1035. Godwin was succeeded by Ægeluinus, or Æthelwin, whose name first appears in the charter which I have dated c. 1010.

Bishop Brihteah died 20th December 1038. Unless at that time the new year began at Easter he must have retired some time before this, for there are two charters of bishop Living his successor which bear the date 1038.

The first is a grant of land at Hylcromban (Hill Croome) and Bocctun (Baughton) made by Bishop Brihteah, with the consent of King Harold and Earl Leofric, to Æthelric, a thegn.

[Smith, *Baeda*, pp. 779–80]

LYFING,
bishop of Worcester

A.D. 1038

Ego Harald rex		
Ego Aelfric archiep. [York]		
Ego Lyfing episc.	Ego Godwine dux	Ego Odda miles
Ego Aæfelstan episc.	Ego Leofric dux	Ego Brÿhtric miles
Ego Duduc episc.	Ego Duri dux	Ego Edwine miles

In the second Lyfing grants land at Tapen Halan (Tappenhall in Claines) to Earcytel.

[Add. Chart. 19798, B. IV. 22]

LYFING, bishop

A.D. 1038

Ego lyfingus eþs		
Ego ælfweard ^a eþs	Ego odda mil.	Ego leofric minist.
Ego æfelstanus eþs	Ego eadwine mil.	Ego æfelwine prb.
Ego leofric dux	Ego earni —	Ego wistan prb.
Ego ælfstan diac.	Ego earnwi cl.	Ego þurkel cl.
Ego eatstan prb.	Ego berhtwine prb.	
Ego wilstan prb.	Ego wulfward prb.	
Ego wulstan prb.	Ego eadwig diacōn.	
Ego berhtmær cl. ³		

¹ Add. Chart. 19797.

² Hemming, pp. 264–5: "Tempore illo, quo Dani hujus patrie possessores fuerunt . . . Ægeluinus, prior istius monasterii."

³ The names in the original run straight across in columns of four from Ælfweard. Those in the bottom line were added last.

Both charters have interesting features in the witnesses. The presence in the first of Ælfric of York, at a time when that see was no longer held with Worcester, is evidence that Worcester was then in the province of York—as in fact it remained until 1072. But it raises the further question whether as archbishop of York Ælfric had a foothold in the diocese, possibly through the possession of estates which Archbishop Wulfstan may have detached from the see of Worcester for the support of York. It is known that Ælfric on his appointment to York was anxious to retain Worcester with York, but further association with York was resisted at Worcester.

In the second charter we see for the first time the name of Wulstan, who afterwards became Worcester's greatest bishop. With him in the same body of witnesses is his brother Ælfstan. At the time of this charter Wulstan was about thirty, and can only recently have received ordination as priest from Bishop Brihtheah.

The three following lists are taken from later charters of Bishop Living:

[Smith, *Baeda*, p. 781 (K.C.D. 765)]

LYFING, bp.

A.D. 1042

grants land at Beonet leag [Bentley] to Ægelric,
with permission of Harthacnut, king, and Leofric, earl of the
Mercians

Ego Lifting episc. consensi.	Ego Earnwig cl.
Ego Eastan presb.	+ Leofwine diacon.
Ego Wulfwi presb.	+ Aelfstan diacon.
Ego Wilstan presb.	+ Ðurkyl diacon.
Ego Wulfstan presb.	+ Býrhthmær diacon.
Ego Wulfwerd presb.	+ Godric cl.

[Add. Chart. 19799 (not in Hemming)]

LYFING, bp.

A.D. 1042.

grants land at Eadmunddes côte [Armscott] to Ægelric,
with permission of King Harthacnut

Hearþpacnut king
Ælfgeofu his mother
Lyfing bishop, and all the *familia* at Worcester
Ælfward bishop, and the *familia* at Evesham
Godwine abbot and the *familia* at Winchcombe
Leofric earl, and all the thegns in Worcestershire, both English and
Danish

[Smith, *Baeda*, pp. 780-1 (K.C.D. 764)]

LYFING	A.D. 1040-1042
with leave of Harthacnut, king, and Leofric duke of the Mercians grants land at Elmlea [Elmley] to Aegelric	[? 1042]

Ego Heardecnut rex	
Ego Aelfric archiep. [York]	Ego Godwine dux
Ego Etsie archiep. [Cant.]	Ego Leofric dux
Ego Lyfing episc. [Worc.]	Ego HARALD dux
Ego Aepestan episc. [Her.]	Ego Godwine ¹ abb. [Winch.]
Ego Duduc episc. [Wells]	Ego Aelfric abb. ¹ [Pershore]
Ego Aelfweard episc. [Lond.]	Ego Aelfwine abb. [Newminster]

Ego Aepelwine sacerd.	Ego Leofwine diac.	Ego Bryhtwine min.	Ego Eadwi min.
Ego Etstan sacerd.	Ego Edwi diac.	Ego Leofric min.	Ego Ðuri min.
Ego Wulfwi sacerd.	Ego Odda miles.	Ego Aepelric min.	Ego Wigod min.
Ego Wulfweard sacerd.	Ego Bryhtric miles	Ego Dodda min.	Ego Godric min.
Ego Wilstan sacerd.	Ego Aelfric miles	Ego Atsere ² min.	
Ego Wulfstan sacerd.	Ego Bryhtric miles.	Ego Alewei min.	

These three charters relate to grants of land to *Æthelric*, a thegn. Only two are dated, but it is likely that all three belong to the same year, 1042.

The first is purely domestic, and its chief interest for us is that with the third charter it helps to reveal the state of the *familia* at that time. We see that the monastic household consisted of six priests, five deacons, and two clerks—thirteen in all.

The second and third reveal the presence in Worcester of King Harthacnut and *Ælfgifu* his mother, and the visit is perhaps to be connected with certain famous events of that time. To understand what brought the king to the city we must glance for a moment at the history of the years 1040-2. In June 1040, on the death of Harold, Harthacnut landed in England. Within a short time evidences of his bad government began to show themselves, and the following year the king began to levy *Dane-geld*. Always an unpopular tax, its imposition was bitterly resented in Worcestershire, with the result that some of the king's housecarles who had been sent to collect the tax were killed. This was in May 1041. A few months later Harthacnut dispatched a strong punitive force under Earls Leofric and Siward, who with their men harried both city and county alike from 12th to 16th November. It is reasonable to suppose that some time must have elapsed before king and people can have

¹ This is the earliest record of these abbots. *Ælfric* probably succeeded *Brihteah* as abbot of Pershore in 1038.

² At one time Bishop *Brihteah*'s chamberlain (Hemming, p. 269).

become reconciled, and indeed this can hardly have been before the early months of 1042. In June 1042 Harthacnut died.

Now it seems likely that the second and third charters were executed in the early part of 1042, perhaps on the occasion of a visit of reconciliation by the king. We see that Harthacnut was accompanied by *Ælfgifu* his mother (Cnut's widow), the two archbishops, *Ælfric* of York and *Etsie* (*Eadsige*) of Canterbury (*Ælfric* taking precedence over the latter), four bishops, the abbots of the greater monastic houses of the diocese, and *Ælfwine* abbot of Newminster, the earls *Godwin*, *Leofric*, and *Harold*, the great landowners *Odda*, *Ælfric* his brother, and *Bryhtric* (whose estates lay in the neighbourhood of Tewkesbury), and a very large body of *ministri*. The importance of the occasion is emphasized also by the presence of the communities of Worcester, Evesham, and Winchcombe, with Bishop *Living* and Abbots *Ælfward* and *Godwine*. The second charter shows the beginning of a practice which became afterwards general: the names of the *familia* are omitted, the brethren giving only a general assent.

The last charter of Bishop *Living*, dated 1045, has come down in the form of a fragment. It seems complete so far as the monastic witnesses are concerned, but these are now limited in number and include only the four senior priests.

[Smith, *Baeda*, p. 781]

LYFING, bishop
Fragment of charter containing grant of
land at Sapertun

A.D. 1045

Ego LYFINGUS episc.		
Ego Wulfsige abb.	Ego Aeglwine sac.	Ego Godwi.....
Ego Manni abb. [Evesh.]	Ego Wulfwig sac.	Ego Odda.....
Ego Godwine abb. [Winch.]	Ego Wilstan sac.	Ego Aelfric.....
Ego Aelfric abb. [Persh.]	Ego Wulfstan sac.	Ego Berh..... ¹

It does not seem possible to identify the Abbot *Wulfsige*, who takes precedence over *Manni*, abbot of Evesham. Possibly we should read epi. for abb. and understand *Wulfsige*, bishop of Lichfield (1037-53). *Godwine* and *Ælfric* are the abbots of Winchcombe and Pershore respectively. Of the laymen *Godwi*... probably stands for Earl *Godwine*. The other three, *Odda*, *Ælfric* (his brother), and *Berhtric*, are landowners who often attest together. *Odda* and *Ælfric* lived at Deerhurst, *Odda*'s estates lying between that village and Longdon. *Berhtric* held the overlordship of Tewkesbury and lived at Longdon.

The next names are from a charter in an Evesham register.

¹ The dots represent a tear in the original. The names are reproduced here in modern form.

[MS. Cotton Vesp. XXIV, f. 34 (K.C.D. 797)]

EDWARD, King	A.D. 1044-1051
Grant of land at Lench to Osferð.	[c. 1046]

Eadwardus, rex		Manni abbas	Æðelwinus decanus
Ælfricus ¹ archiepi.	Godwine, dux	Ælfricus abbas	Wulfwius monachus
Stigandus ² epi.	Leofricus, dux	Goduinus abbas	Wilstanus m̄
Æðelstanus ³ epi	Siuuardus dux	Earwini ⁵ abbas	Wulstanus m̄
Wulsinus ⁴ epi	Þuri dux		Ælfstanus m̄
			Odda m̄
			Ælfricus m̄

Not all the documents in this Evesham register are trustworthy. If the present one is genuine, as it may be, the absence of the bishop of Worcester's name suggests that it must be dated in the year 1046, between the death of Living (23 March 1046) and the appointment of Ealdred, his successor, in the same year.

Three things are noticeable in the list of witnesses: (1) the presence of the archbishop of York, (2) the use of the word *decanus* in the sense of prior, (3) the apparent inclusion of two well-known laymen, Odda and Ælfric, amongst Worcester monks. The first is evidence that though no longer bishop of Worcester Ælfric Puttock seems still to be maintaining the same sort of hold upon the affairs of the diocese which we noticed earlier. The description of Æthelwin as *decanus* affords the earliest example that has come to our notice of the use of that word in the sense of prior. But it is possible that the charter has not come down to us in its contemporary form. As to (3), it is evident that the confusion has arisen from the fact that the Evesham writer who transcribed this charter used the contraction *m̄* for all five names after *Wulfwius monachus*. While we may rightly extend it to *monachus* for Wilstanus, Wulstanus, and Ælfstanus, for Odda and Ælfricus we must certainly extend the contraction to *minister*. Towards the end of his life Odda became a monk, but at this time he was a very active layman: indeed, it was not until 1051/2 that he was made earl. Ælfric, his brother, lived and died a layman.

The next names are taken from charters which lie near to each other in date. The first is a grant of land at Ham-tune made by Bishop Ealdred, the second concerns land at Ditchford granted by the same bishop to one Wulfgeat.⁶ Neither document can

¹ York. ² Elmham. ³ Hereford. ⁴ Lichfield. ⁵ unidentified.

⁶ Possibly the Worcester scribe of that name who wrote at the end of a portion of MS. Bodl. 523 'me scripsit Wulfgeatus scriptor Wigornensis'. To this writer other Worcester MSS. are attributed (e.g. MSS. Bodl. 5210 and 5134).

be later than 1053, the year of *Ælfric's* death. The first gives no title to Odda and therefore must be dated before 1050.¹ In the second the use of the title earl points to a date for this charter between 1051 and 1053, the year of *Ælfric's* death.

[Hickes, *Thesaurus*, i, 142]

					EALDRED	A.D. c. 1049
					bishop of Worcester	
grants land at Ham-tune known as Hylle to <i>Æthestan</i> , farmer						
	Ealdred, bp.	and all the <i>familia</i> in Worcester				
	Manni, abbot,	and the <i>familia</i> in Evesham				
	Ælfric, abbot,	and the <i>familia</i> in Pershore				
Leofric earl	Byrhtric (Ælfgar's son)	Owine	Ceolmaer	Ælfric at Cumbrin- tune		
Odda	Ægelric (the bishop's brother)	Wagan	Ordwig	Godric finc		
Ælfric	Leofric his brother	Atsur	Wulfric	Berhtwine Cola		
and all the thegns in Worcestershire, Danish and English						

[Hickes, *Thesaurus* ('Dissertatio', p. 70); Smith, *Baeda*, p. 782]

					EALDRED	A.D. 1051-1053
					bishop of Worcester	[c. 1052]
grants land at Dicford to Wulfgeat						
	All the <i>familia</i> in Worcester					
	The <i>familia</i> in Evesham					
	The <i>familia</i> in Pershore					
Leofric earl	Berhtric Ælfgar's son ²	Ægelric the bishop's brother	Esebearn	Ælfward at Langadune		
Odda earl	Owine	Ceolmaer	Ordwig	and all the oldest thegns in Wor- cestershire,		
Ælfric	Wagan his brother	Atsur	Æthestan farmer	Danish and English		

The next extract is taken from a document found in Hemming's chartulary and is in the form of a declaration made before King Edward concerning land at Condicote which it is stated that *Æthelwine* the prior and *Ordricus* his brother bought with the convent's money. This land, it is said, was afterwards restored to the uses of the monastery, *Æthelwine* and *Ordricus* at the same time dedicating the latter's son to a monastic life. Not long afterwards *Ordricus* himself became a monk. In confirmation of

¹ In that year Odda is described as 'nobil' (Hickes, 'Dissert.', p. 17).

² Hickes reads 'Aelfstan's son'.

what is affirmed the king sets his seal to the declaration, and the names of the witnesses follow thus:

[Tib. A. XIII, f. 149; Hemming, *Chart.*, p. 335]

ÆTHELWINE, prior
Concerning land at Cundicoton
[Condicote]

A.D. 1051-1053
[?Jan. 1053]

Eadwardus, rex	Leofricus dux
Edgid regina	Ageluuinus decanus
Kynsi archiepiscopus	Wilstanus monachus
Aldredus episcopus	Wulstanus monachus
Duduc episcopus	Britricus minister
Manni abbas	Osegod minister
Alfricus abbas	Azor minister
Godwinus dux	
Orduuius ¹ minister	
Kyneward ² minister	

If we may judge from the witnesses this document appears to belong to the early part of 1053. For it is unlikely that Queen Edith, Godwine, and Archbishop Cynesige (Kynsi) can have come together before that year. Cynesige succeeded Ælfric, who died in January 1051, but only went to York late in 1051,³ that is, about the time when the queen had been banished to Wherwell and Godwin was in flight. Neither the queen nor Godwin her father was restored to the king's favour until the autumn of 1052. At the beginning of the following year the king was with his court at Gloucester. It seems likely then that this declaration was made before King Edward at this time. In the following April Godwin died.

The document affords another example of the use about the middle of the eleventh century of the word *decanus* in the sense of prior. But we cannot be sure that we have a contemporary document before us. Towards the end of the eleventh century both *decanus* and *prior* are used in the same sense. Hemming uses sometimes the one, and sometimes the other.⁴ About forty years later William of Malmesbury states that the old name for prior was *prepositus*.⁵ This statement may hold good in the case of monasteries governed by an abbot, but Worcester documents

¹ Perhaps the Ordwig of the two previous charters, and the father of Æthelwig, abbot of Evesham (Vesp. B. XXIV, f. 39).

² Urse's predecessor as sheriff. Appears as vice-comes in the Covenant (*Commemoratio placiti*) between Bishop Wulstan and Abbot Walter of Evesham (H., p. 82) and in 1043 as *praefectus* (K.C.D. 767).

³ Raine, *Lives of the Archbishops of York*, p. 137: 'after the see had been retained for some time in the king's hands'.

⁴ Hemming, pp. 250, 256, 259 *et passim*.

⁵ *Vita Wulfstani*, bk. i. 5.

afford no example of the use of the word *prepositus* in the sense of *prior*. In the few cases where the word is found in Hemming it appears to bear the meaning of sub-prior and sometimes of bailiff.¹ The word *decanus* remained in use as a title for the prior down to the middle of the twelfth century, and perhaps later.²

The next documents from which I shall quote are two charters of about the same date, the one concerned with land at Tiddington and Alstone, the other with land at West tun (? in Bockleton). Both are grants made by Bishop Ealdred. The second charter is in the form of a chirograph. Its endorsement shows that Baldwin, the grantee, was the bishop's steward. The latter's description as 'religious' is an indication that he was a monk.

[Transcribed from Hemming, *Chart.*; Tiberius A. XIII, fol. 175 b.]

EALDRED	A.D. 1054-1056
bishop of Worcester, with leave	[c. 1055]
of Edward, king, grants land	
at Theotinctun and Alfsigestun	
to the Church of Worcester	
[Tiddington and Alstone]	

Ego EADUWARDUS REX

Anglorum donationem hanc, mea licentia factam, signo crucis munio.

Ego EADGID ³ , regina Anglorum, consensi.	Ego Aldredus episcopus consensi.
Ego Leofric dux consensi.	Ego Alfgarus dux consensi.
Ego Odda dux consensi.	Ego Owine minister.
Ego Wagen minister.	Ego Berhtric, Alfgares sunu.
Ego Atsor minister.	Ego Osgod apud Heailea.

[Add. Chart. 19800 (not in Hemming's Chartulary)]

EALDRED	A.D. 1054-1056
bp of Worcester, grants	[c. 1055]
land at WEST TUN to	
Balwine (cuidam religioso atque	
mihi fidelis)	

+ Ego ealdred e ^{ps} s hanc pphatā donationē concessi		
+ Ego wulfward ³ AB	Ego harold ⁶ dux	Ego ægelwine SAC
+ Ego berhtwald ⁴ AB	Ego Odda dux	Ego wulfwig SAC
+ Ego mannig ⁵ AB	Ego Raulf dux	Ego wilstan SAC

¹ Hemming, pp. 261, 268, 279. In a Benedictine house the word appears to carry the meaning of second in command. It may, therefore, perhaps stand for sub-prior in these cases.

² See Osbert's use of the word in Williamson, *Letters of Osbert of Clare*, pp. 77, 79.

³ Abbot of Abingdon c. 1052 (K.C.D. 792, 800).

⁴ Abbot of Malmesbury 1052-9.

⁵ Succeeded earl 1053.

⁶ Abbot of Evesham 1044-58.

Ego wulfstan SAC.	Ego Godric diac.	Ego Berhtric.
Ego edwig SAC.	Ego Leofwine clfr.	Ego Tosti.
Ego ælfstan SAC.	Ego wulfwig clfr.	Ego ælfstan.
Ego purkyll SAC.	Ego Godwine clfr.	Ego mannig.
Ego ælfnoð.	Ego eadmaer MINISTER.	
Ego Leofwine.	Ego caldred MINISTER.	
Ego Godwine.	Ego ælfric MINISTER.	
Ego earkyll.	Ego æglric MINISTER.	

[The names run straight across in eight columns]

The above lists of witnesses contain the names of Odda and Brihtric, but that of *Ælfric* has now disappeared.¹ The latter died in December 1053. Earl Odda died 31st August 1056. We may therefore date these charters between 1054 and 1056, that is, before or after Bishop Ealdred's visit to Germany.

In a life of *Æthelwig*, abbot of Evesham, which is evidently the work of a contemporary writer, it is stated that before he was made abbot (1058) *Æthelwig* had been entrusted by Bishop Ealdred with the care of the external affairs of the diocese at a time when that bishop was absent on other affairs. If this be true—and there is no reason to doubt the statement—it seems likely that *Æthelwig*'s administration should be assigned to the year 1054–5, the period during which Bishop Ealdred spent a year in Germany 'on the king's business'. If we examine the list of monastic witnesses to this second charter we can the more readily understand the reasons which led Bishop Ealdred to make choice of *Æthelwig*. For at this time there was no one in his own monastery to whom he could entrust such a task. *Æthelwin* the prior must then have been growing old and, so far as we can judge, was entirely unfitted for such administration.

At the same time it was impossible to pass over the prior in favour of Wulstan, for there were the older men Wulfwig and Wilstan to be considered. While Ealdred was confronted with this difficulty at Worcester he had in *Æthelwig*, the prior of the neighbouring monastery of Evesham, a man of exceptional ability who had already had considerable experience in the conduct of affairs, having been called upon to take a responsible part in the government of the abbey during the closing years of the stricken abbot, Manni.

In these charters we have the last documents of *Æthelwin*'s priorate. St. Wulstan's accession to that office appears to date

¹ The *Ælfric minister* whose name is seen at the end of the second charter must be identified with *Ælfric* of Comberton who figures in an earlier charter (c. 1049). After the death of *Ælfric* the brother of Earl Odda it was no longer necessary to distinguish the two.

between 1055 and 1057. It is not possible to determine the year, but it is known that he was prior when Earl Leofric gave lands at Blackwell and Wolverley to Worcester monastery.¹ Leofric died 31st August, 1057.

There are scattered references in Hemming's Chartulary to events which happened during Wulstan's priorate, but these afford no clue to the year of his accession. Indeed, one such reference is misleading. Writing about estates which had been alienated from the monastery, Hemming tells of certain villas in Warwickshire which had been seized by Edwin, the brother of Earl Leofric, at a time when Wulstan was prior and Wilstan prepositus. He goes on to state that Edwin a short time afterwards perished wretchedly at the hands of Griffin, the Welsh king.² Now there is an obvious blunder here, for history records that Edwin was slain by Griffin in the year 1039.

Hemming relates a somewhat similar story of land seized by Godwin, another brother of Leofric. Here again Wulstan and Wilstan are among the actors, and we are told that Godwin, yielding to pressure from the two monks, was induced to make restitution of the property when on the point of death. In this case we get no help, for the year of Godwin's death is unrecorded.³

The next list shows Wulstan established as prior.

[Add. Chart. 19801, B. iv. 38 (not in Hemming)]

EALDRED	A.D. 1058
bp. of Worcester, grants land	
at NORD TUN [Norton] to	
his minister Dodda.	
+ Ego EADUUEARD rex Anglorum hanc prefatam donationem concessi	
+ Ego EALDREDUS EFS Donauī	Ego wulfstan sāc.
+ Ego Ægelwig ⁴ abb	Ego wulfwig sāc.
+ Ego Godrics ⁵ abb	Ego wylstan sāc.
+ Ego Eadmund ⁶ abb	Ego ælfstan sāc.
Ego ægebric min	Ego eadric min
Ego godric min	Ego brihtwine min
Ego ceolmær min	Ego norðman min
Ego atser min	Ego arneat min
Ego æstan min	

[The names in the five columns run straight across the charter]

It is interesting to compare the numbers of the Worcester monks in this charter with a statement made by Bishop Wulstan

¹ Hemming, pp. 403-5.

² Id., pp. 277-80.

³ Id., p. 259.

⁴ Abbot of Evesham.

⁵ Abbot of Winchcombe. This is the earliest record of this abbot.

⁶ Abbot of Pershore.

some thirty years later. In the Alveston charter of 1089 the bishop tells us that when he came to the priorate the Worcester monks numbered rather more than twelve and that he had raised their numbers to fifty. We shall see that though the bishop does not say so, the last statement must have been intended to cover both the years of his priorate and of his episcopacy.

A glance at the numbers of the monastic witnesses in the charter of 1058 suggests that the fortunes of the monastery were then at a very low ebb. Even if we suppose that these numbers do not represent the full strength of the monastic household—there must have been clerks who did not witness the document—the few monks present, five priests and two deacons, afford strong evidence that the charter belongs to the early years of Wulstan's priorate. It is probable that the low numbers reflect to some extent the reaction which must have followed upon the stricter observance of the Benedictine Rule which Wulstan enforced.

As Æthelwig was amongst the witnesses to the charter it must date after 23rd April, 1058, when that abbot was consecrated abbot of Evesham. The charter gives us the earliest record of two other Worcestershire abbots, Godric of Winchcombe and Edmund of Pershore.

Later in the year Bishop Ealdred raised Wilstan, who at this time seems to have been acting as sub-prior under Wulstan, to be abbot of Gloucester. Possibly this was on the occasion of his consecrating Gloucester monastery which he is said to have rebuilt. Four years later Prior Wulstan became bishop of Worcester.

The history of the monastery at this point is carried along by two eleventh-century Worcester kalendars and the Obit lists contained in them. These are found in manuscripts closely associated with St. Wulstan.

The first kalendar, which dates from about the beginning of Wulstan's episcopate, is found in a manuscript collection of sermons by Wulfstan the homilist, bishop of Worcester from 1002 to 1023.¹ The collection, which is in two volumes, is now in the Bodleian Library and is said to have been used by the later Wulstan. Prefixed to the first volume is a kalendar of remarkable interest which has been made the subject of critical study by various writers.² Its date is determined by the Kalendrical

¹ Bodl. Hatton MSS. 113 and 114. The kalendar is found in 113.

² By the present writer in *Archæologia*, lviii, 219–54; H. M. Bannister in Turner's *Early Worcester MSS.*, Oxford, pp. lx–lxij; W. H. Frere in *Leofric Collector*, vol. ii (H.B.S.). This volume contains the two Worcester kalendars here discussed.

Tables, which cover the years 1064–93. The kalendar contains a long series of Worcester Obits and appears to have been copied by Edric, a Worcester monk, from an earlier exemplar.

The second kalendar is found in a Worcester Service Book formerly described as the *Portiforium Oswaldi*, but now known as *Wulstan's Collectar*. It appears to be of rather later date than that of the Homiliary, and is clearly of different origin. Whilst the Homiliary kalendar may be looked upon as St. Wulstan's private kalendar, that of the Collectar is clearly an official diocesan document upon which all the kalendars in use throughout the diocese were based. This second kalendar also has its Obits, but these are fewer in number and of later date.

To deal first with the Obits of the Homiliary. These will be found printed in chronological sequence in Bishop Frere's *Leofric Collectar*.¹ For the sake of reference they are here classified and set out in alphabetical order.

[Bodley MS. Hatton 113]

OBITS
in the Kalendar of Wulstan's Homiliary

		<i>Obits of Monks</i>	<i>Last mention in Worcester Charters</i>
Jan. 3	Ælfgar	Obit' Ælfgari sacerdotis	1017
Apr. 6	Ælfnoði	Obit' Ælfnoði sacerdotis	990
June 10	Ælfric	H' obiit fr' nr' Ælfric' sac'	
Apr. 16	Ælfwius	Hic obiit fr' nr' Ælfwius cler'	
Nov. 26	Ælmer	H' obiit fr' nr' Ælmer sac'	
Nov. 12	Æthelfyrd	H' ob' fr' nr' æthelfyrdus cler'	
Mar. 29	Æthelmar	Obit' Æðelmari sacerdotis	
Oct. 24	Æthelric	H' ob' fr' nr' æthelricus leuita	1017
July 7	Æthelwin	H' ob' æthelsin' decan'	996
Dec. 4	Æthelwin	H' ob' fr' nr' æthelsin' decan'	996
Jan. 2	Æthelwin	Hic obiit fr' nr' Æðelþin leuita et mon'	
Apr. 26	Æthelwin	Migravit de hoc sclo Æþelwin' decan' c. 1055	
Sept. 1	Eadmaer	Hic ob' fr' nr' Eadmaer	
Sept. 3	Eadric	Obit' eadrici sac'	1017
Apr. 10	Eadstan	Obit' Eadstani sac'	1042
Nov. 30	Eadulf	H' ob' eadulfus fr' nr'	
Apr. 3	Earnwi	Hic obiit fr' nr' Earnwius cler'	
<i>Later Nov. 23</i>		Obiit Edric' m' et sac'dos q' scripsit hc' co'potum	1042
Apr. 22	Foldberht	Obit' foldberhti diaconi	

¹ Frere, *The Leofric Collectar* (H.B.S.), ii, 601–2. The kalendars of both Wulstan's Homiliary and Collectar are printed at pp. 589–600 of the same volume.

July 13	Heahward	h' ob' heahƿard' sac'	996
Dec. 2	Heanric	H' ob' fr' nr' heanric'	
Mar. 7	Kynewold	Obit' kýnewoldi sac'	
Feb. 13	Leofwin	Hic obiit fr' nr' leofwinus	1042
Mar. 26	Leofwin	Hic obiit leofwinus sac'dos et mon'	1017
June 7	Umbregn	H' obiit fr' nr' Umbregn	
May 20	Winsigus	Hic obiit fr' nr' pinsigus [1st prior	c. 985]
Jan. 6	Wistan	Hic obiit fr' nr' pistan' sac' et mon	1038
June 29	Wulfnoth	H' ob' fr' nr' þulfnoðus sac'	996
Jan. 12	Wulfric	Obit' f'ris nr'i þulfrici sacerdotis	996
Dec. 12	Wulfward	H' ob' fr' nr' þulfward' sac	1042
Feb. 6	Wulfwin	Obit' þulfuini sac'	1017
<i>Later</i> Oct. 16	Willelmus	O' Will'm' m° et c' ad succ'	

Obits of Bishops and others

<i>Later</i> Jan. 20	Wulstan	Obiit beate memorie dom⁹ wulstan' ep's 1095	
June 11	Ælfric	Obit' ælfrici¹ decani in eofesh' [Evesham]	d. 1038
July 5	Æthelstan	Obit' æþelstani sacerdotis pat' þxlfstbnk fpk² [wulftani epi]	
June 4	Aldulf	Obit' Aldulfi archiepi [of York, bp. of Worcester]	d. 1002
<i>Later</i> Dec. 20	Byrhteaig	Hic obiit býrhteaig' ep's [bp. of Worcester]	d. 1038
<i>Later</i> June 15	Eadmund	Ob' eadmundi abb'is [abbot of Pershore]	d. 1085
Mar. 19	Ealdred	Obit' Ealdredi ep'i [?bp. of Cornwall c. 1010]	
Aug. 19	Leofsin	H' ob' piu' pat' leofsin' ep's [bp. of Worcester]	d. 1033
Jan. 1	Wulfnoth	Obit' þulfnobi ep' [unknown]	
May 28	Wulfstan	Obit' þulfstani archipresulis [of York, bp. of Worc.]	d. 1023

Obits of Lay people

June 17	Æthelgeat puer	Ob' æþelgeati pueri	
Feb. 10	Æthelwin	Obit' Æðelwini	
<i>Later</i> Oct. 14	Aldred puer	Obit' Aldredi pueri	
Jan. 6	Býrcstan	obit' býrcstani fr' p' fpk² [fratris wulfs- tani episcopi]	
<i>Later</i> Sept. 9	Godgifu, comitissa	Hic obiit godgifu comitissa	c. 1075?
Aug. 5	Griffin, rex	Hic occisus fuit griffin rex brutorum [King of the Welsh]	1063

¹ Above the name is ' . . æfic'. He is so called in *A.S. Chron. sub* 1037.² In a cipher: for each vowel the succeeding consonant is substituted.

Nov. 11	Heahwulf	H' ob' heahwulf' ægelpine ¹	d. 1056
Aug. 31	Odda	H' ob odda dux	
Later Sept. 2	Owen	Ob' owini	
Later Nov. 20	Ragenilda	Obiit Ragenilda virgo d'o dicata	
Dec. 31	Wulfgifu	Hic obiit wulfguu mat' þ ep'i [mater wulftani episcopi]	

These Obits appear to have been copied from an older kalendar, possibly from one which had belonged to a former bishop or prior. They show conclusively the connexion with St. Wulstan. Both the Obits of the bishop's parents, and of Byrcstan,² a brother, are recorded, and a later hand has added that of Bishop Wulstan himself. Moreover, there are Obits of Worcester bishops, priors, and laity. It is remarkable that Earl Leofric's name finds no place amongst the latter, though there are Obits of Godiva, his wife, and of Earl Odda. It looks as if the monks of Worcester had been unable to forget that Leofric had at one time dispossessed them of their lands, nor yet that at the command of King Harthacnut he had joined with other nobles in laying waste city and county. Such gifts as the earl had made to the Worcester brethren were probably regarded as tardy acts of restitution. And indeed Leofric seems at all times to have been more drawn to Evesham and Coventry than to Worcester.

We pass on to the Obits of Wulstan's Collectar. These are here set out in the same way as those of the Homiliary.³ Of the Collectar itself it will be well to say that its date is determined by its Kalendrical Tables which, like those of the Homiliary Kalendar, cover the years 1064–93, a period which corresponds roughly with that of Bishop Wulstan's episcopate. The Collectar itself is a comparatively small book. The present abbess of Stanbrook, discussing it in relation to a passage in Colman's *Life of Wulstan*, says that it almost constitutes a Breviary, and throws out the interesting suggestion that we have in this manuscript the actual prayer book carried about by St. Wulstan in his ministrations throughout the diocese.⁴

¹ The name ægelpine is written over odda. See Florence of Worcester *sub 1056*.

² Nothing more is known of Byrcstan. The name is rare; the only other instance of its occurrence in Worcester documents seems to be in grants made by Oswald in 989 and 990 to a thegn of that name.

³ They are given in the original chronological order in *The Leofric Collectar*, ii, 589–600.

⁴ See 'Note on St. Wulstan's Prayer Book', by the Abbess of Stanbrook, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan. 1929.

OBITS IN THE KALENDAR OF WULSTAN'S COLLECTAR¹

[C.C.C.C. MS. 391]

		<i>Bishops and Dean</i>
Jan. 20	Wulstan	Obitus pie memorie DOMNI WULSTANI epi (1095)
Sept. 11	Ealdred	Ob. Aldredi archi. ² (1069)
Oct. 24 or 25	Henry	O' Hen[rici] ep ³ (1179)
Aug. 10	Roger	O' Rog[eri] ep's ³ (1195)
Oct. 6	Edwy	Obitus Aedpi decani ³
		<i>Monks</i>
Aug. 16	Alfstan	Obitus Aelfstani sac. et mo. f. w. e. ⁴
Sept. 15	Benedict	O' Benedictus mo' et sac. ³
May 16	Colman	Obitus Colemanni cog' W.
July 27	Fritheric	Obitus Fritherici m.
Nov. 25	Siword	Obitus Siwordi mo' et conversi ³
June 13	Stephen	Hic obiit Stephanus monachus et diaconus
		<i>King</i>
Sept. 9	William I	Obitus Guillelmi regis Anglorum
		<i>Obits of Laity</i>
May 18	Arnulf	O' Aernulf i.
Mar. 14	Godiva	Ob' Godgitha
Oct. 1	Lifgiva	Obitus Lægæuæ mater godipe ³
May 3	Seburga	Obitus Sæburgæ
Dec. 16	Segitha	Obitus Sægipe m' lan'
May 15	Saulf	Obitus Sæpulfi laici patris Clementis.

Some few of these Obits are late eleventh century, but most run well into the twelfth. Few are in the original hand. Amongst the latter may be those of Colman, the bishop's chancellor, and of Aelfstan the prior, a brother of Bishop Wulstan. Aelfstan, who succeeded Wulstan in the priorate, died, as will appear, about 1080; Colman not until 1113. The date given in the Collectar for the latter's death (16 May) does not agree with the Chronicle attributed to Florence, which places Colman's death on the same day as that of Thomas the prior (4 Oct.).

Some of the names recorded here we shall meet with in later documents. Dr. Frere was perhaps mistaken in identifying Benedict, whose death is placed at 15th September, with Benedict, abbot of Tewkesbury, who died in 1137. The latter according to the *Chronicle of John* died 15th March.⁵

Edwy the dean (i.e. prior) may be the prior of Westminster of

¹ Printed in *Leofric Collectar* (H.B.S. 1921), ii, 589–600.

² In another hand.

³ In a later hand.

⁴ i.e. fratris Wulstani episcopi.

⁵ *Chronicle of John*, ed. Weaver, p. 41, note 1.

that name who joins with his abbot in a letter to Warin, prior of Worcester, and Uhtred precentor of the same monastery about 1125.¹ Possibly Edwy was an alumnus of the Worcester house, and like Maurice moved from Worcester to Westminster after the death of Bishop Wulstan.²

Judged by the witnesses who attest it one of the strangest documents in Hemming's *Chartulary* is a declaration relating to land at Hampnet, near Northleach (Gloucestershire), which Archbishop Ealdred is said to have bought for the monastery with the monastery's money. It is impossible to date the document for reasons which will appear later, yet the transactions to which it relates is one which must have impressed itself upon the memory of many who were still living at the time when Hemming recorded it. The remarkable feature is the list of witnesses, in which the dates of those subscribing do not agree.

[Tiberius A. xiii, f. 175; Hemming, 398-40]

EALDRED, archbishop

Declaration concerning land at Heantune (Hampnet)

With licence of Edward king, and Harold, earl

Ego Eaduuardus, Anglorum Basileus

Ego Edgytha, regina

Ego Aldredus archiepiscopus

Ego Wulstanus episcopus

Ego Leofwinus episcopus

Ego Wilstanus abbas

Ego Harold dux

Ego Huhgelin minister

Signum Wynsii

Signum Brihtrici

Signum Osegodi

Signum Bertuuini

Signum Orduui

Ego Walterus episcopus

Ego Ægelwinus abbas

Ego Godricus abbas

Ego Leofricus dux

Signum Aluoldi

Signum Esegarii

Signum Siuuardi

Signum Azori

Signum Earngeati

Here in this document we have witnessing together Ealdred, who became archbishop of York about 1060; Wulstan, who succeeded Ealdred in 1062; and Earl Leofric, who died in 1057. Clearly therefore there is something wrong here. It is difficult to account for the error, for it is obvious, from the fact that this land at Hampnet is referred to by Hemming on four separate occasions,³ that he was dealing with an important transaction, and one that called for great care in transcribing. Hemming tells in detail how the Hampnet land had been alienated from the

¹ *Letters of Osbert of Clare*, O.U.P. 1929, p. 188.

² Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster*, pp. 31, 32.

³ Hemming, pp. 281, 368, 390, 395.

monastery and complains bitterly that it had been seized by Roger d'Ivry,¹ a favourite of the Conqueror, at a time when Bishop Wulstan had gone to Chester on the king's business.² The kingdom at that time, Hemming says, was in a very disturbed state, and a dispute of long standing between Wulstan and Thomas of York was still undecided. It was therefore impossible to take the matter into the courts and, as a result, the monastery was deprived of its land.

There is no reason to suppose that the facts of the case are not as Hemming states them. It looks as if the transaction itself was in the nature of an arrangement between the bishop and the monastery which it was not thought necessary at the time to record in due legal form. But with the seizure of the lands the situation altered and it became imperative that the monks should be able to show some formal record of the transaction which could be produced in the courts in support of a claim which they knew they could rightfully make. Hence perhaps this rather ingenuous declaration drawn up, possibly, in the dark days of William the Red's lawless reign, in readiness for the day when, as Hemming pathetically hoped, 'the King's heart should once more be established in justice'.

This is the last document of Ealdred's episcopate that we have. Amongst other charters of the bishop which were lost were two charters relating to grants of land made to Wulfgeat, whom we may perhaps again identify with the Worcester scribe of that name.

Hemming's book affords many glimpses of the difficulties which faced the monks both in the rough, turbulent days of William the Conqueror and in the more trying times that ensued in the reign of William Rufus. Notwithstanding the part which Ealdred and Wulstan had taken in supporting the Conqueror, Worcester appears to have felt the force of the Norman invasion as keenly and as quickly as any part of England. We are amazed to find the dread sheriff Urse established, and pursuing his aggression right up to the very doors of the monastery, before the year 1069 is out. And we have evidence that whatever feelings the Conqueror may have had for Bishop Wulstan, the king was completely ruthless in his demands upon the monastery whenever money was needed for his various enterprises. At one point in his

¹ Roger d'Ivry is first heard of in England in 1069. He died in or about 1089. In Domesday the lands at Hampnet are entered amongst his possessions, and it is stated that they had been held by Ealdred, to whom part of them had been given by King Edward.

² This perhaps refers to Wulstan's Visitation of Chester about the year 1072.

book Hemming interrupts the transcribing of charters in order to record an example of the cruel demands which the Conqueror made upon the monastery. And he is so moved that he breaks away from his accustomed Latin and writes in his mother tongue—or it may be that he does so in order to hide the record from Norman eyes. I take the translation from Thorpe's *Diplomatorium*.

[Hemming, *Chartulary*, p. 393; Thorpe, *Diplomatorium*, pp. 439–40]

WILLIAM I

[? c. 1070]

Sums exacted from the Monastery of Worcester.

This much has been paid by the church [of Worcester] to King William after he possessed this land, without the hide-gild which no man but God alone may tell. That is first; from the flagon which is by another name called hrygile-buc ten pounds, and from the fifteen roods six marks, and from the other flagon, and from the cup, and from the jar, and from the bowl eleven marks, and from the long chest eight pounds, and from the three horns three marks, and from the candle-stick ten pounds, and from the crozier thirty-three marks; and thereto in addition forty marks and sixty half-marks of gold.

We are still within the priorate of *Ælfstan*, of whom little is known. Hemming has a bare mention of the prior in connexion with property at Waresley,¹ and there is a writ of Edward the Confessor confirming privileges to the monastery. The writ exists only in Anglo-Norman form, but an interesting translation and a reconstruction into Anglo-Saxon were made by Professor Skeat.² There is also a confirmation of all the possessions of the priory addressed by William I to *Alfstan*, dean, and the monks of Worcester.³

Ælfstan's name occurs also in a Confraternity Bond of the time. Associations of this kind, by which monasteries bound themselves together for a common purpose, whether in loyalty to king and queen, observance of the Benedictine Rule, prayer, or some form of mutual benefit, were general in the eleventh century, and indeed for long after. One such association, drawn up in Anglo-Saxon between the houses of Worcester, Evesham, Gloucester, Pershore, Winchcombe, Bath, and Chertsey, is still extant. *Ælfstan*, the Worcester prior, was one of the contracting parties, and it was concluded c. 1077.⁴

¹ Hemming, p. 261.

² Printed in Bloom, *Original Charters relating to the City of Worcester* (Worc. Hist. Soc., 1909, p. 169). ³ Register I, fol. 2 b.

⁴ Printed with a modern English version in Thorpe's *Diplomatorium*, p. 615, and in *Hist. et Cart. Glouc.* (R.S.), vol. iii, p. xix. Only the names of Evesham, Chertsey, and Bath monks have been preserved.

A later confraternity bond is interesting as showing that between 1077 and 1080 Ælfstan was succeeded in the priorate by Thomas. The bond is one between Worcester and Ramsey; in it Worcester was represented by Bishop Wulstan and Thomas the prior, Ramsey by Abbot Alwyn.¹ It is known that the latter ceased to be abbot by 1080.

In his *Anglia Sacra* Wharton gives a list of Worcester priors² and has inserted the name of Æthelred between those of Ælfstan and Thomas. He did this on the strength of a passage in Eadmer's *Life of St. Dunstan* in which that writer acknowledges his indebtedness for information relating to Dunstan to a certain Æthelred, who, he says, had for a long time been sub-prior and precentor at Canterbury and was afterwards promoted by the blessed Wulstan at Worcester.³ It seems impossible, on the evidence now available, to determine the identity of Æthelred. But it is certain that Wharton was mistaken in including the latter's name amongst the priors of Worcester. This is made quite clear by the writer of the short Anglo-Saxon *Life of Wulstan*, given in Hemming,⁴ who in referring to certain property which had been acquired by Bishop Wulstan states specifically that the bishop 'entrusted it all to Thomas his prior, who undertook the rule after Ælfstan'.⁵

Thomas, the new prior, continued the policy of associating the

¹ Thomas, *Survey of the Cath. Ch. of Worcester*, Appendix, p. 3.

² *Anglia Sacra*, I, 547.

³ *Memorials of Dunstan* (R.S.), pp. 163-4.

⁴ The name of Ægelredus (Ailred) does not occur at this time in Worcester documents. Wharton thought that he might be identified with Ægelricus (Ailric) the archdeacon (*c.* 1086 or earlier), or that Ægelricus had changed his name when he came to Worcester, in which case he might have been either Thomas, or Nicholas, who became prior in 1113.

If it were possible to accept the suggestion that Eadmer's Ailred was Ailric the archdeacon (and we shall see later that the forms Theodore and Theodoric seem to be interchangeable in two Evesham documents) this would offer a satisfactory solution of a difficult problem. For there seems no office in the monastery to which Ægelredus can have been promoted by Bishop Wulstan—Hemming was sub-prior, Colman, chancellor, Uhtred, precentor, and Ælfhere, sacrist. On the other hand, the office of archdeacon, an office of which there is no previous trace in Worcester documents, suddenly comes into prominence about 1086, and Ailric the archdeacon henceforth figures in most of the bishop's charters. It is not unlikely that the introduction of the office was due to the influence of Lanfranc. Whether this be so or not, it would be very natural for Bishop Wulstan to have taken for the first holder of so important an office a monk who had received his training from that archbishop. Of Wharton's other suggestions Nicholas is the more likely. There was a close friendship between the latter and Eadmer, which seems to have dated from the time which he spent as a youth at Canterbury under the training of Lanfranc. Correspondence between the two shows that as late as *c.* 1120 Eadmer consulted Nicholas upon matters touching old English history.

⁵ Hemming, ii, 404.

Worcester house in fraternity with other monasteries, and even extended the range of such alliances as far as France. Some time between 1096 and 1113 he entered into a solemn compact in the Chapter house at Worcester (*in capitulo Wigorniensis*)¹ with Lambert, prior of St. Remi, Rheims, binding the brethren of their respective monasteries together in confraternity.² It was one of the provisions of the covenant that the anniversary of the death of Wulstan of blessed memory should be observed at Rheims on 20th January;³ that of Henry, abbot of St. Remi, on 17th March.⁴ It provided also that the Festival of St. Remi should be observed on 1st October in every year at Worcester, and the Translation of the blessed Oswald as a festival of twelve lessons at Rheims.⁵

We do not know what brought the prior of Rheims to Worcester at this time, but the Covenant between Bishop Wulstan and Walter abbot of Evesham, to be quoted below, shows that there was a Rheims monk at Worcester as early as 1086, and the *Life of Wulstan* mentions a foreign monk Winrich as an inmate of the monastery during the time that Wulstan was prior, that is between c. 1055 and 1062.

A covenant between Bishop Wulstan and Abbot Walter (who had succeeded Æthelwig in 1077) in settlement of one of the major disputes about land between Worcester and Evesham was made before the king's commissioners for Domesday, Bishop Remigius (Dorchester), Henry de Fereris, Walter Giffard, and Adam, barons of the king, and was witnessed by the whole monastery at Worcester, and by 'many of the Evesham brethren'. It was concluded, as the last words go to show, at Worcester. There is an interesting array of witnesses:

[Hemming, *Cart.* 75-6, and 296-7]

+Serlo abbas de Glocestre	+Nigellus clericus Remigii episcopi
+Ulf monachus Remigii episcopi	+Wlsi presbiter
+Rannulfus monachus ejusdem	+Edric de Hindelep
+Alfuiinus monachus de Sancto Remigio	+Godric de Piria
+Ailricus archidiaconus	+Ordricus niger
+Frithericus clericus	+Alfuiinus filius Brihtmeri

This agreement brought an end, for a time, to a great struggle which had raged between the rival houses of Worcester and Evesham. It was the sequel to a lawsuit which is of great import-

¹ From other uses of the words *in capitulo Wigorniensis* I think this the meaning implied, rather than 'in the Worcester Chapter'. ² Register I (Worc. Cath.).

³ This date agrees with that given in Colman's *Life of Wulstan*, and in the *Obit of Wulstan's Homiliary*. ⁴ Henry, abbot of Rheims 1074-95.

⁵ The Translation of 1089 (Oct. 8) must be implied.

tance in the history of Worcestershire land tenure in the eleventh century and has been discussed at length by Professor Freeman and the late Mr. J. H. Round.¹ But our present purpose is concerned only with the witnesses. Of these the two laymen, Edric of Hindlip and Godric of Piria, were large landowners, the latter holding an estate of which Perry Wood formed part. The Worcester churchmen present were Ailric, the archdeacon, Frederic, Ordricus, and Alfwini. But a very remarkable Evesham name commands attention in Wlisi, or Wulsy, a hermit saint whose sanctity of life was recognized by nobles and churchmen alike, great magnates like earls Godwin and Leofric making him their confessor. It was St. Wulsy who is said to have persuaded the unwilling Wulstan to accept office as bishop. So unworldly a man must have felt strangely placed in a court presided over by the King's Commissioners, where the issues were so entirely secular. Of the Worcester witnesses the most remarkable was Ailric, the archdeacon, who here makes his first appearance in Worcester documents. A good deal of interest attaches to Ailric, for he is one of the earliest archdeacons of the post-Conquest period of whom there is record. It seems likely that he was a monk of the Worcester house,² as was his brother, Edwin, who as we shall see, was associated with him in the proceedings of the Synod held in 1092. Ailric held the office of archdeacon alone until about 1110, when a second archdeacon, Hugh, was appointed. A charter of about this time is witnessed by both archdeacons.

(*The concluding portion of this paper will be published in the next number*)

¹ *V.C.H. Worcestershire*, i, 252-6 and 268.

² See later the Worcester returns given in the Savigny Roll.

A Round Barrow on Stockbridge Down, Hampshire

By J. F. S. STONE, B.A., D.Phil., and N. GRAY HILL, M.C., M.B.

IN a recent report (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.* iv, 1938, 249) we described the contents of a pit situated on Stockbridge Down on the ridge that runs south-west from Woolbury Ring Camp. This pit, the site of which is marked as X on the sketch-map which accompanies the present paper (fig. 1), contained an occupation or refuse layer of Middle Bronze Age date, the rarity of which warranted in our opinion examination of anything in the immediate vicinity that might have a bearing upon it.

At least seven round barrows can be identified upon the down, but no record appears to exist of their having been examined. Their relative positions are also recorded on fig. 1, which is based partly upon the aerial photograph of the site published and described by O. G. S. Crawford and A. Keiller (*Wessex from the Air*, 1928, pl. xxv), and partly upon field work.

The present paper describes the structure and contents of the round barrow that lies some 300 ft. south-west of the pit above mentioned. This barrow, which we have numbered no. 1 on fig. 1, is small and relatively insignificant, being only 25 ft. in diameter and about 18 in. in height. It had been constructed on ground that slopes gently to the south, and lies upon that area of the down that appears from both ground and aerial observation never to have been cultivated.

We should here like to express our indebtedness to Mr. A. S. Kennard, Dr. J. Wilfrid Jackson, Dr. A. J. E. Cave, and Professor C. H. Desch for their reports on some of the objects found. The finds described have been presented to the British Museum.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE BARROW (pls. I and II)

Although small, this barrow was found to possess some unusual features. Structurally it was simple in that it was composed mainly of flint nodules of moderate size which appeared to have been collected from the surrounding soil (pl. II). A little earth was found to fill the interstices between the flints, but this had in all probability collected there naturally; the barrow cannot be described as having been formed by scraping up the surrounding soil, a common method of construction. It was thus virtually a small cairn of flints. Though normal in stony areas, such small

cairns are not completely unknown on the chalk downs of Wiltshire and Dorset; few, however, have been described.

In the present instance a large number of the flints had been burnt, but these were not so-called pot-boilers. They were scattered throughout the material of the barrow and were not confined to the area of burnt material shown in pls. I and II. Also scattered

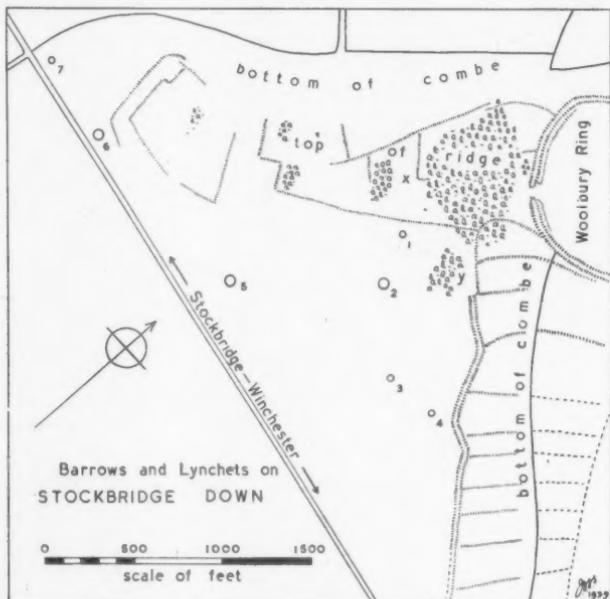


FIG. 1. Sketch map of Stockbridge Down

indiscriminately among the flints was a number of splintered animal bones, probably kitchen refuse. Dr. Jackson reports that these consist of a few bones of small ox and sheep; also a fragment of the tine of a stag-antler. Amongst them are numerous fragments which are indeterminate; some have been burnt and may be human. A number of potsherds, a few true pot-boilers, and a small fragment of a saddle-quern were also found among the flints.

The scattered potsherds, of which 51 small fragments were obtained, are representative of three cultures. Twenty-eight fragments are typical of Beaker ware as regards ornament and texture. At least two or three vessels are represented. Nineteen other fragments are much coarser and thicker and are indistinguishable from normal Middle Bronze Age cinerary urn ware; all appear to have belonged to one vessel. Two of these sherds

bear a row of horseshoe-shaped cord impressions by way of ornament. Such ornament is widely distributed in the British Isles and appears on a number of overhanging-rim urns (*Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, xlvi, 1933, 221). In the present instance it is by no means improbable that the ware is domestic, in view of the proximity of the Middle Bronze Age occupation-layer in the pit noted above. Finally, there are four sherds of Romano-British ware, two pieces of which are Samian. Domestic ware of this date is common on Stockbridge Down.

The primary grave, which with other interments is considered in detail below, was found to be centrally placed under the barrow and was surrounded by a discontinuous shallow ditch (pl. 1). No less than five well-marked causeways gave access to the central area. Ditches E, F, G, and H were all well defined with steep sides, and varied from 2 to 3 ft. in width at the top. Their depth was not great, being on an average only 12 in. reckoning from the chalk surface. Actually ditch H was the deepest, being about 2 ft. Ditch I was very indefinite, but a shallow depression about 6 in. deep could be traced as marked on the plan. In every case the filling of these ditches consisted of chalk dust, probably rain-wash. Several fragments of deer's antlers were found in or near them—a not unusual find in ditches of Beaker date.

A discontinuous ditch of this type is very difficult to parallel. Barrow ditches possessing one causeway are by no means uncommon, but multiple causeways are very rare. Actually we are aware of only one instance of a grave of Beaker date being surrounded by a ditch possessing multiple causeways, and that is the grave recently excavated by one of us in Fargo Plantation near Stonehenge (*Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, xlviii, 1938, 357). In that instance two causeways were found to be situated on opposing sides of the grave. Barrows are known in Holland in which the grave was surrounded by a polygon of horizontal logs possessing gaps at intervals (Childe, *Danube in Prehistory*, 1929, 198, fig. III); but here the apparent resemblance to our grave is probably only superficial, and beyond calling attention to the resemblance we do not wish to imply any actual connexion.

THE INTERMENTS

Beaker inhumation. The primary interment consisted of an inhumation of Beaker date in a well-excavated chalk grave 3 ft. 6 in. deep, 5 ft. 6 in. long by 3 ft. 6 in. wide, and possessing almost vertical sides and a flat base. The well-preserved skeleton of a young woman lay in a semi-contracted position on its right side with skull to the south and facing east. The fragments of

a large beaker 8 in. high lay at the foot of the grave (pl. III). This beaker is a typical member of the B1 class of vessel which Mr. Stuart Piggott has shown is in southern England confined almost entirely to Wessex (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.* iv, 1938, 56). The neck alone is ornamented with shallow furrows, the remainder being decorated in the normal hyphenated manner. Zonal decoration has not been carried right to the base; alternate plain and V-shaped hyphen-filled panels encircle the body just above the base.

A small copper pricker or awl had also been deposited with the interment. This is considered in more detail below.

Cremations 1 and 2. The primary Beaker grave was entirely filled with clean chalk rubble. Whilst removing it two secondary interments by cremation were encountered in it about 2 ft. 6 in. below the top of the barrow, cremation no. 1 being near the south edge of the grave, and no. 2 centrally placed (pl. II). In both cases calcination had been practically complete, little or no charcoal accompanying the burnt human bones.

Cremation 3 in urn. A large inverted cinerary urn was found to have been inserted in a recess cut into ditch H (pls. I and II). This recess was only just large enough for the urn, and clean white chalk rubble had been packed around it. Touching the base of the urn and spreading for some distance above and around it was a compact layer of burnt earth, flints, chalk, and charcoal, in all probability the remains of the funeral pyre after careful collection and insertion of the human bones in the urn.

The cinerary urn is 16 in. high and is in every way a typical member of the overhanging-rim type of vessel (pl. III). Cord decoration is confined to the collar and consists mainly of the common filled-chevron pattern, the distribution of which has been considered by Mr. G. C. Dunning (*Antiq. Journ.* xvi, 1936, 162). A row of small cord-impressed loops encircles the actual base of the collar.

The urn on removal was found to cover a small heap of burnt human bones apparently those of a child about 15 years of age and of small stature. With the bones were a large number of beads and a bronze awl; these are considered in detail below.

THE BEADS

The beads associated with the secondary cremation in the urn are of considerable interest not only from the point of view of number (some 136 are represented) but mainly because of the variety of materials employed in their manufacture.

1. *Calcite.* Two annular beads, 9 mm. and 8·5 mm. in diameter (fig. 2, nos. 8 and 9). Both possess large perforations

3·5 mm. in diameter, both are semi-transparent, and both are light orange in colour. They were at first thought to be glass, but their solubility with brisk effervescence in dilute hydrochloric acid proved that in reality they consisted of calcite, and this was confirmed by a determination of their specific gravities (both 2·72). Further, on both beads the characteristic planes of cleavage are well defined.

Calcite consists chemically of calcium carbonate. It is well known in nature in a variety of crystalline forms of which doubly refracting Iceland Spar and the semi-transparent stalactites and stalagmites of varying colours are common. It is not at all impossible that these beads were manufactured locally from a piece of stalactite, possibly from the Mendip caves.

So far as is known these calcite beads are the first to have been recognized in Great Britain. By a coincidence an octiform or spectacle spacing-bead of the same material was found three months subsequently by one of us with Mr. Stuart Piggott in barrow 18 at Long Criche, Dorset. It was not until all three beads were undergoing simultaneous treatment that their true character was recognized. Superficially all resemble coloured glass, and it is therefore very probable that other beads found in Great Britain in Bronze Age associations, and described as being of yellow glass, in reality consisted of calcite. In this connexion we should note that true transparent yellow glass first appeared in Egypt in the XVIIIth dynasty, and is well represented at Tell el Amarna, but no bead of this material has yet been recognized in Great Britain.

2. Faience. Three segmented beads of faience and the fragments of a fourth (fig. 2, nos. 1, 2, and 3). Two of these beads are of the large variety with large perforations, and possess seven and six segments. The third is a small incomplete specimen with three segments. On each the glaze has mostly flaked away leaving the white core exposed, but patches of brilliant turquoise blue glaze remain. All are typical members of the two varieties found in southern England, mostly in Wiltshire, and are the first to be recorded from Hampshire.

Faience segmented beads have received critical attention from Beck and Stone (*Archaeologia*, lxxxv, 1936, 204), who have shown that these beads are very probably of Egyptian origin and may be dated approximately 1400 B.C. The presence of similar beads among the other beads under discussion is therefore of value for dating this secondary interment on Stockbridge Down, and incidentally for proving the use of calcite for beads at this period of the Bronze Age. It may be recalled that so-called yellow glass

fragments and beads are recorded as having been associated with segmented faience beads at Pensthorpe in Norfolk (*Arch. Journ.* vi, 1849, 405) and in barrow Amesbury G.44 in Wiltshire (*Ancient Wilts.* i, 161).

3. *Jet.* One small barrel bead 7 mm. long and 7 mm. in diameter (fig. 2, no. 5). Jet is common in the north, but in the south its place is usually taken by lignite (*Archaeologia*, xlvi,

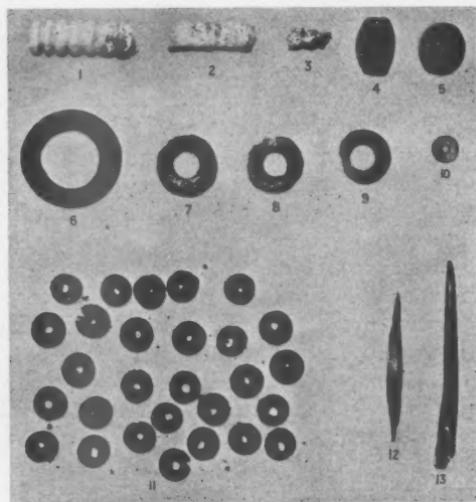
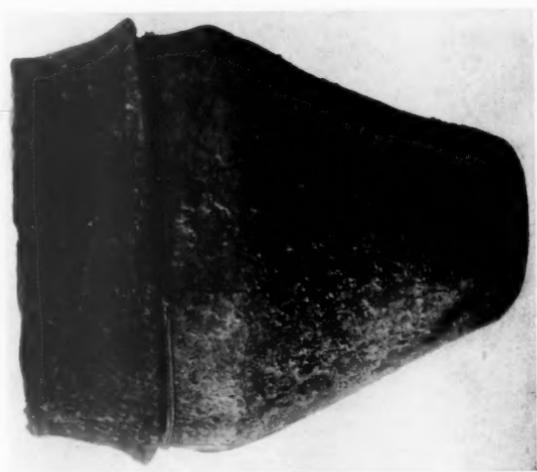


FIG. 2. Beads (nos. 1-11) and bronze awl (no. 13) from secondary cremation; copper awl (no. 12) from Beaker interment (1)

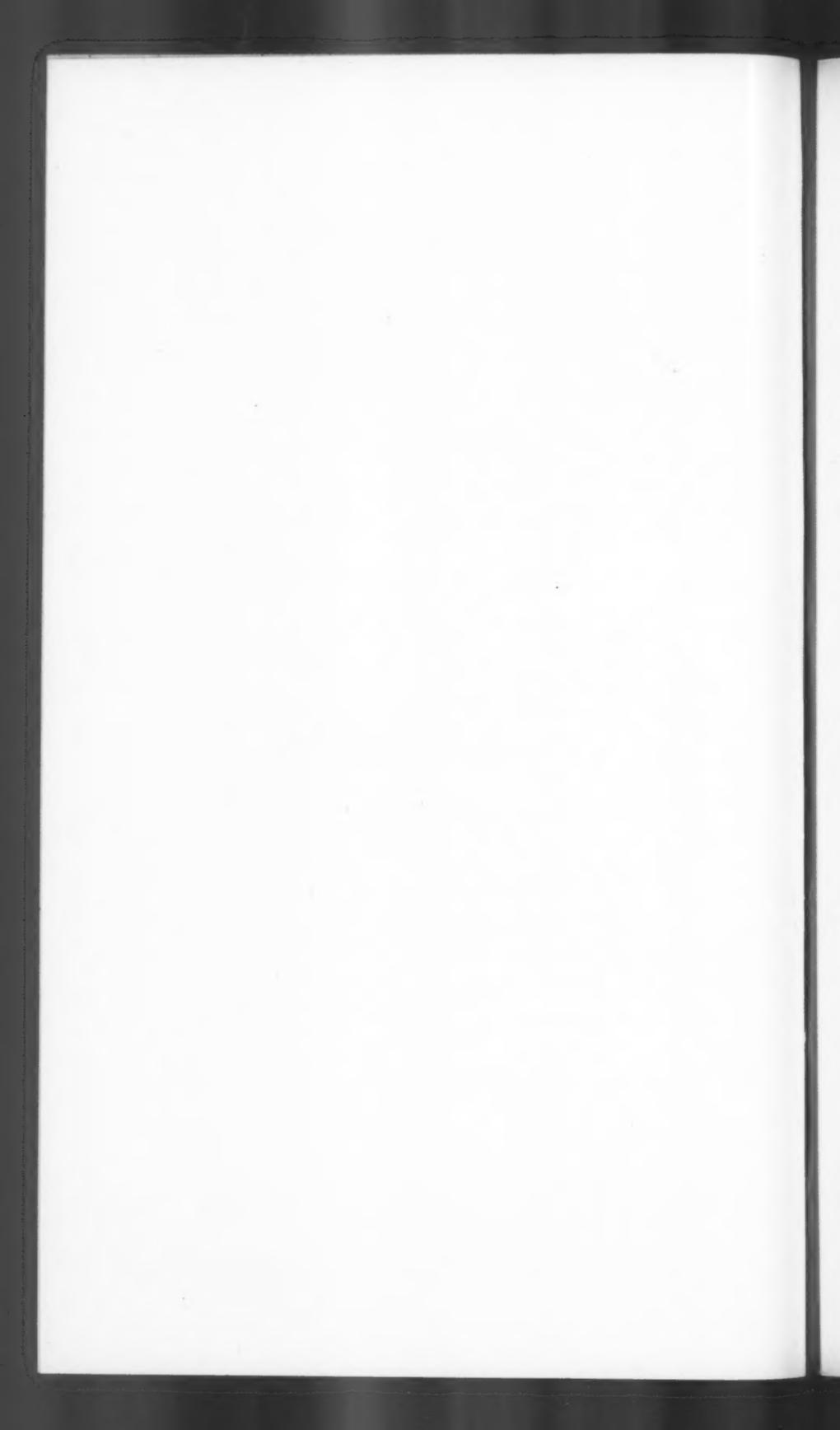
1871, 519). The present specimen is hard, black, and lustrous, with no incipient cracking or flaking of the surface which is so characteristic of southern lignite beads. Further, it possesses slightly the electrical property of attracting light objects when excited by friction.

4. *Lignite.* (a) One small long barrel bead, 9 mm. long and 6 mm. in diameter (fig. 2, no. 4).

(b) Ninety-four complete and the fragments of about thirty-one incomplete cylindrical disc beads, 4 to 5 mm. in diameter (fig. 2, no. 11). These vary in thickness from about 1 to 2 mm. All are in a somewhat friable condition. Although all are essentially cylindrical disc beads having parallel edges, this description is not quite accurate in that the sides of the beads are not parallel. Actually each bead is a slightly hollowed cone. Thus when



Cinerary urn and beaker from Barrow no. I on Stockbridge Down



strung in series to form a necklace the positive conical side of one bead sinks naturally into the negative conical side of the next, thus forming a string of sinuous character, an interesting and noteworthy variant of the less skilful stringing of plain cylindrical discs. The symmetry of such minute discs or laminae has suggested to former writers the early use of the lathe. Whilst this may or may not have been in use it would still have been possible to cut a shaped rod into the required pieces; and if the knife was held slantwise to the rotated rod such small hollow cones would result.

Long necklaces of similar small cylindrical disc beads of lignite or jet, but apparently not hollow cone-shaped, have been recorded and, in common with those of crescentic form, are more common in the north. Two only are known south of the Thames, one from Upton Pyne in Devon (*Archaeologia*, xlivi, 1871, 516; *Arch. Journ.* xxix, 1872, 157, fig. 2), and the other from the famous Manton barrow in Wiltshire (*Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xxxv, 1907, 9). That their popularity was by no means short-lived is evidenced by the association of thirteen similar disc beads of lignite with three bronze tubular beads and a B2 beaker at Beggar's Haven near Brighton, all now in the British Museum (Curwen, *Archaeology of Sussex*, 159, pl. xi, 4); whilst others are recorded from Soham Fen, Cambridgeshire, associated with a skeleton, a socketed axe-chisel, and other jet beads including spacing beads (Evans, *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries*, xxii, 1908, 121; Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, 55).

In the north such necklaces are commonly associated with food-vessels. Thus in Yorkshire similar strings of disc beads are recorded from Garrowby Wold (Mortimer, *Researches*, 1905, fig. 362), Calais Wold (*ibid.* fig. 418a), Garton Slack (*ibid.* fig. 575), Weaverthorpe (Greenwell, *British Barrows*, 1877, 198), and Goodmanham (*ibid.* 300). In Derbyshire similar beads on a magnificent jet necklace are recorded by Bateman from a barrow on Middleton Moor (*Diggings*, 1861, 25); and Greenwell records others from Eglingham in Northumberland (*British Barrows*, 419). On the Isle of Man Mr. B. R. S. Megaw records a similar minute disc bead in one of the chambers of the Mull or Meayll Hill Circle (*Proc. Isle of Man N.H. and Ant. Soc.* iv, 230), and from a short cist at Ardwoaillach, Lonan (*ibid.* 231). Farther north others have been found at Brown Head in Arran (*P.S.A.S.* xxxvi, 122), at Yarhouse in Caithness (*P.S.A.S.* vii, 497, fig. 4; *Archaeologia*, xliv, 1871, fig. 211), and at Culduthel also in Caithness (*P.S.A.S.* lxiii, 217). Dr. Hencken has cited others from Taiversoe Tuack in Orkney (*Journ. Roy. Soc. Ant. Ireland*,

lxix, 79n.); and apparent copies in stone from Creevykeel Cairn, co. Sligo (*ibid.* 78).

From this brief survey of its distribution it would appear that we can now add this type of jet or lignite necklace composed of small cylindrical disc beads to the list of elements recognizable in the southern extension of the northern Food-vessel culture. Of these elements we need only notice here the amber equivalents of the northern jet crescentic necklaces (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.* iv, 1938, 82), the ridged food-vessels typified by the Fargo, Stonehenge example (*Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xlviii, 1938, 357), and the plano-convex flint knives (*ibid.* 368; *Antiq. Journ.* xii, 1932, 158).

5. *Shale.* (a) One small quoit bead 15 mm. in diameter with a perforation of 9 mm. (fig. 2, no. 6). This is a familiar type, especially in Wiltshire, and may be compared with those on the well-known Upton Lovell necklace of faience segmented beads (*Archaeologia*, lxxxv, 1936, pl. LXIII, 1).

(b) One small annular bead 9·5 mm. in diameter, with a perforation of 4 mm. (fig. 2, no. 7). This bead is in a very friable condition.

(c) One very small short cylinder bead, 4 mm. in diameter and 2 mm. thick (fig. 2, no. 10). This may be of some stone other than shale.

THE METAL AWLS

It was fortunate indeed that both the Beaker interment and the Middle Bronze Age cremation each contained a metal awl or pricker. That associated with the former (awl A) is small, being only 23 mm. long, pointed at both ends, and of square section in the middle (fig. 2, no. 12). On the other hand, the Middle Bronze Age awl B is 31·5 mm. long, of circular section, and, whilst one end is pointed, the other has been hammered flat on opposing sides to form an efficient tang to prevent rotation in a handle (fig. 2, no. 13).

Both were submitted to Professor C. H. Desch, who very kindly undertook spectrographic analyses. His results are tabulated on p. 47.

The first point that emerges from these analyses is that the Beaker awl is made of copper, whereas the Middle Bronze Age awl is a true bronze. Although the quantity of tin in the latter is recorded as greater than 5 per cent., Professor Desch is of the opinion that it is in reality about 10 per cent. Professor Desch further points out that it is of interest to note that copper of somewhat similar character has been used in both cases.

Here we feel that we should point out that the spectrographic

	<i>Awl A (Beaker)</i>	<i>Awl B (M.B.A.)</i>
Tin	.	—
Silver	.	×××× (5%)
Nickel	.	××
Lead	.	××
Antimony	.	××
Arsenic	.	×
Bismuth	.	—
Iron	.	—
Zinc	.	—

— element not detected.

× very faint trace of element present.

×× faint trace of element present.

××× element probably present in analytical quantity.

method of analysis possesses two great advantages: its ability to detect minute traces of elements often in too small an amount for direct estimation; and the availability of the photographic records for future reference and comparison. Although a knowledge of the actual percentage of tin in a bronze is frequently of value, a knowledge of the impurities in its composition is of even greater value for archaeological purposes. In primitive metallurgy the main constituents must have varied within fairly wide limits due to crude gravimetric control. But the presence or absence of some other element as an impurity will throw considerable light on the source of the metal ores used and hence on problems of trade and migration. This aspect has too often been ignored in the past, and unfortunately this method of analysis has not been used to any extent on British bronzes. We are therefore unable at present to make any useful direct comparisons.

APPENDIX I

Report on the Non-Marine Mollusca

By A. S. KENNARD, A.L.S., F.G.S.

Material from a number of loci were submitted for examination and I have tabulated the results below. It must be pointed out that the amount of soil was the same for all the samples except for no. 2, and of this a much larger quantity was washed—about three times the bulk of each of the remainder. This will partly account for the great numerical superiority of no. 2.

Table of Species

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<i>Pomatias elegans</i> (Müll.) . . .	6	64	5	11	5	24	4	5	3
<i>Carychium minimum</i> Müll. . .	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Carychium tridentatum</i> (Risso) . .	—	35	—	3	1	3	1	—	—
<i>Pupilla muscorum</i> (Linn.) . . .	2	87	18	22	2	10	3	—	—
<i>Vertigo pygmaea</i> (Drap.) . . .	1	13	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Acanthinula aculeata</i> (Müll.) . .	1	10	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Vallonia castata</i> (Müll.) . . .	8	98	8	10	5	3	—	1	—
<i>Vallonia excentrica</i> Sterki. . .	—	16	—	3	2	—	—	—	—
<i>Cochlicopa lubrica</i> (Müll.) . . .	1	37	1	2	2	—	—	—	—
<i>Ena montana</i> (Drap.). . .	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Punctum pygmaeum</i> (Drap.) . .	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Goniodiscus rotundatus</i> (Müll.) . .	5	36	6	8	—	3	—	—	—
<i>Arion</i> sp.. . .	21	160	7	47	—	51	—	—	—
<i>Helicella cellaria</i> (Müll.) . . .	4	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Retinella nitidula</i> (Drap.) . . .	—	—	15	—	—	—	2	—	—
<i>Retinella pura</i> (Ald.). . .	—	—	26	—	—	—	1	—	—
<i>Retinella radiatula</i> (Ald.) . . .	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Vitre a crystallina</i> (Müll.) . . .	—	—	25	—	5	—	4	—	—
<i>Vitrina pellucida</i> (Müll.) . . .	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Limax maximus</i> Linn. . .	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Limax</i> sp. . .	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Agriolimax laevis</i> (Müll.) . . .	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Xerophila itala</i> (Linn.) . . .	—	—	10	—	2	2	2	—	—
<i>Trochulus hispidus</i> (Linn.) . . .	—	1	25	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Arianta arbustorum</i> (Linn.) . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
<i>Cepaea nemoralis</i> (Linn.) . . .	—	—	2	f	f	—	1	f	f
<i>Clausilia rugosa</i> (Drap.) . . .	—	—	2	2	3	—	3	—	—
<i>Marpessa laminata</i> (Mont.) . . .	—	—	3	—	—	—	1	—	1
<i>Cecilioides acicula</i> (Müll.) . . .	—	4	3	—	—	—	—	—	—

f = fragments

1. Centre of barrow, 1 ft. below the surface.
2. In the grave above the skeleton.
3. In the grave at skeleton level.
4. Inside the beaker.
5. From the bottom of ditch G.
6. Edge of barrow, 1 ft. below the surface.
7. From on top of the inverted cinerary urn.
8. In the chalk rubble outside the cinerary urn.
9. Inside the cinerary urn.

Of these samples nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 are certainly of Beaker age, whilst no. 6 is probably of the same age. Nos. 7, 8, and 9 can be dated as Middle Bronze. A glance at the table will show that mollusca are common in the earlier deposits and very rare in the later, and it is quite possible that some of the shells found in the Middle Bronze levels are not contemporary but earlier.

Many of the larger shells had been broken, presumably by the hedgehog, and one is able to confirm its presumed presence by the occurrence of a tooth of the animal, together with bones of voles, in sample no. 6.

ROUND BARROW ON STOCKBRIDGE DOWN 49

The conditions indicated are for the Beaker series a damp woodland scrub with grass and coarse herbage, certainly denoting a much greater rainfall than the present. The Middle Bronze Age series is too small for any definite conclusions to be deduced, but one would suggest that conditions were similar to those of to-day. If one compares the table with the table of the shells from the near-by pit excavated by Dr. Gray Hill (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.* iv, 1938, 255) it will be noted how well the two agree. In both cases there is an abundant and varied fauna in the Beaker deposits and a greatly diminished one both in species and individuals in the Middle Bronze deposits, thus confirming the view that the Beaker period was a damp one and the Middle Bronze a dry one.

APPENDIX II

Report on the Early Bronze Age (Beaker period) Skeleton

By A. J. E. CAVE, M.D.

(Assistant Conservator, Royal College of Surgeons, England)

Specimen obtained by Dr. N. Gray Hill in 1938 and presented to the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons. The following notes deal briefly with its metrical and morphological features, and are illustrated by the accompanying machine drawings of the skull (pls. IV and V), in each case oriented in the Frankfort plane, and will serve to obviate any very detailed verbal description.

1. *Bones.* The skeleton, practically complete, is that of a woman in full adult life (say about 25 years old) and of short stature—about 5 ft. 1½ in. (1,563·3 mm.).

2. *The Skull,* though damaged considerably in its basal portions, is otherwise excellently preserved as may be seen in pls. IV and V. It is brachycephalic, hypsicephalic, mesorhine, and megaseme. Its female traits are evidenced by the smooth vertical forehead, the practical absence of any supra-orbital eminences, the small mastoid processes, the sharp-rimmed orbits, the faint temporal lines, and a general minimal development of secondary markings. The forepart of the cranial vault is high-pitched and full; the summit of the calvaria somewhat flattened (very distinct flattening occurs in the pre-lambdoid region), and the occipital region is smoothly rounded and prominent. The very slight and normal degree of cranial asymmetry present is presumably indicative of an habitual right-handedness during life. The coronal suture is closed inferiorly but otherwise open, as are the sagittal and lambdoid sutures. In the facial skeleton the bony nose is prominent and high-set, the orbits large and of ovoid outline, the anterior nasal aperture is moderately wide (mesorhine) with sharp periphery and well-marked nasal spine. The infra-orbital region in general is rather flattish as are the relatively large malar bones. The palate, of very good formation, is circumscribed by a deep strong alveolar border which retained at death a full complement of small but shapely teeth, with the exception of the right third molar which apparently has never erupted. All the upper teeth, like

their mandibular fellows, are perfectly free from all signs of dental disease, nor is there anywhere, in either upper or lower jaw, the least suspicion of parodontal disease (pyorrhœa, alveolaris). The mandible is gracefully built with rounded angle and relatively short ascending rami, each with shallow sigmoid notch and a not very vigorous development of either coronoid process or condyle. All the mandibular teeth persist *in situ*—small, well formed, and perfectly healthy. As is the case in the upper jaws the molars decrease in size from before backwards. Crown wear is minimal and has affected the third molars but little.

3. *Axial skeleton.* The entire backbone is present with the sole exception of the coccyx. The vertebrae are well formed, somewhat small, and reveal no evidence of injury, rheumatism, or other pathological change. Traces of immaturity are seen in the unobiterated lines of fusion of the epiphyses in the vertebral bodies in the pre-sacral spine; and in the sacrum (a typically female bone of normal vertebral constitution), by the incomplete fusion of the first two vertebral elements.

The ribs are slender, delicate bones with healthy articular facets and with traces of the epiphyseal line still remaining on many of the rib heads. The sternum, again manifesting female characters, is represented by manubrium and gladiolus: an anatomical variation in the shape of a small median perforation (sternal foramen) occurs in the lower part of the gladiolus: the costo-sternal articulations are normal.

4. *Upper limbs.* The clavicles are slender, well-marked bones with prominent conoid tubercles: each lacks its sternal epiphysis: the left bone is very appreciably the longer. The scapulae are well formed with bodies of sharply triangular outline; they exhibit but a feeble development of secondary markings (female character).

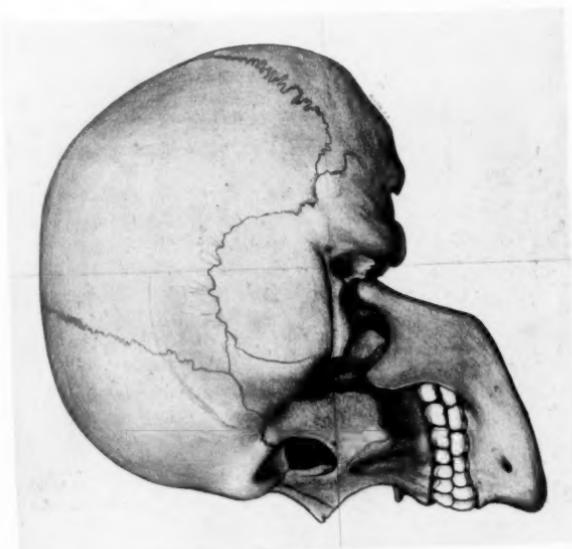
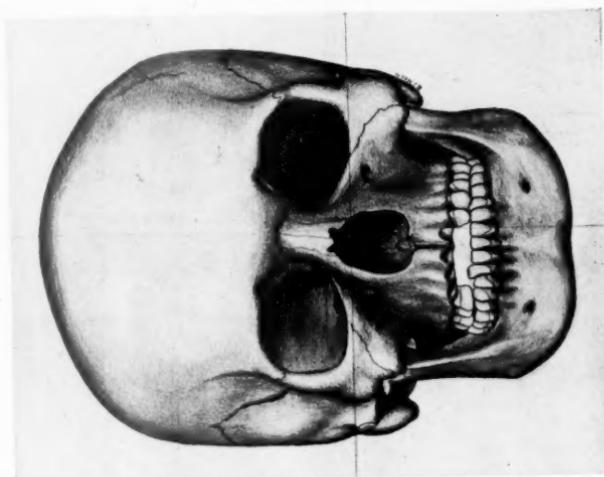
The humeri are strong and shapely bones with emphatic musculo-spiral grooves and supracondylar ridges and with a pronounced lateral lip of the bicipital groove; their articular surfaces are healthy, and the right bone is distinctly longer than the left.

The radii and ulnae are typically female, gracile bones with but feeble secondary markings; the bones of the right forearm exceed in length those of the left. The carpal bones are small and those of the hand and fingers are slender and delicate in conformity with the sex.

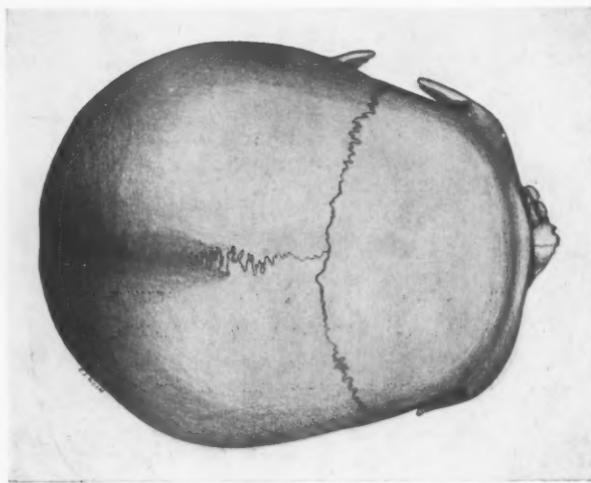
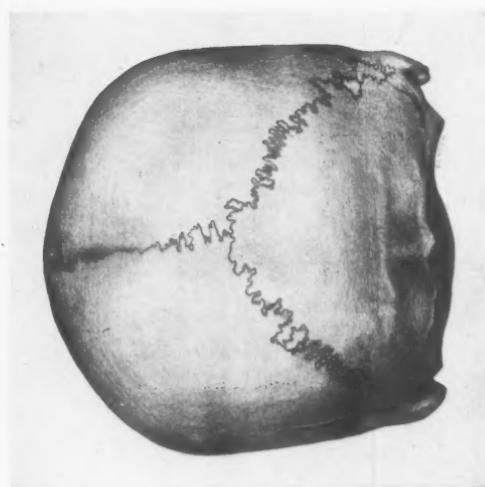
5. *Lower limbs.* Each innominate bone presents unequivocal female characters together with an exceedingly well-marked pre-auricular sulcus. Secondary markings are minimal, and signs of immaturity occur along the iliac crest and the pubo-ischial ramus where the respective epiphyses are as yet incompletely fused.

The femora are small-headed bones each with a feeble linea aspera and a well-moulded lower articular extremity. The left femur presents a curious pathological condition of its shaft, noted separately below.

The tibiae and fibulae and patellæ require no special comment; they are well-formed lightly built bones with relatively feeble secondary markings. The bones of the feet (tarsals, metatarsals, and phalanges) are all small and indicate a small and delicate foot. The peroneal tubercle on the calcaneum is pronounced.



Stockbridge skull; *Norma lateralis* and *Norma facialis*



Stockbridge skull; *Norma verticalis* and *Norma occipitalis*

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Pathology. 1. All the diarthrodial joint surfaces in this skeleton are well formed and healthy.

2. There is no evidence of rheumatic or other pathological change in the spine or elsewhere.

3. *The left femur.* This bone lacks its trochanteric region and a little of the shaft below. Approximately the middle third of the outer aspect of the shaft is curiously and irregularly eroded. There is no obvious sign of previous fracture, nor any evidence of an infective or suppurative condition of the bone. The considerable loss of osseous tissue would appear to be due to some form of trauma which fell short of fracture and abscess formation, and to which there was a reparative reaction. The nature of such trauma remains problematical: it is most unlikely that all the superficial tissues should slough over the femoral shaft in this region and so give rise to the present condition, which itself, indeed, is not in the nature of a genuine ulceration of the bone. That the condition is not *post mortem* is fairly obvious. The marrow cavity has escaped damage, the lesion being confined anteriorly to the compact bone of the femoral shaft. There is no reason to suppose that this lesion was in any way connected with the death of the individual.

Osteometric Data

	mm.
Length	174·0
Parietal breadth	140·0
Min. frontal	97·0
Auricular height	114·0
Basion-bregma H.	136 ?
Total facial height	105 ?
Facial height	64·0
Prosthion-basion	91·0
Bimaxillary width	95·0
Nasal height	49·8
" breadth	23·5?
Orbital height	31·0
" width	43·3
Nasion-basion	98·0
Palatal length	45·0
" breadth	44·6
Nasal bridge	11·1

Indexes

Cephalic	80·8
" height	78·2
Superior facial	67·4
Gnathic	92·9
Orbital	71·6
Nasal	47·3
Palatal	97·8

Long Bones

Max. femoral length	42·4
Max. tibial length	352·0
Max. humeral length	310·0

A Late Bronze Age Find near Stuntney, Isle of Ely

(Fenland Research Committee Investigation)

By J. G. D. CLARK, Ph.D., F.S.A., and H. GODWIN, Ph.D.

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PART I. ARCHAEOLOGY

By J. G. D. CLARK

FOR more than seven years the Fenland Research Committee has been investigating the post-glacial history of the Fenland with a view to correlating archaeological remains and recent geological deposits. By this means evidence has been collected which bears upon the age of early phases of human settlement in East Anglia and upon the natural conditions prevailing at different periods. It has sometimes been possible to undertake systematic and purposive excavations at key sites in the confident anticipation of definite results,¹ but stray finds made in the course of drainage works or of agriculture have also played an important part.² The Stuntney hoard, which it is the primary purpose of this report to record, was discovered by a man ploughing near Stuntney Hall in January 1939.

As has so often happened in the past, the Committee owes much to its Vice-President, Major Gordon Fowler, F.S.A., for his prompt and effective liaison work. Cordial thanks are also due to Mr. Cole Ambrose for allowing us to make investigations on his land and for most generously presenting the bulk of the hoard and its container to the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge, and to Mr. Tony Ambrose for going to much personal trouble to conserve the find.

The hoard was found in the narrow belt of peat fen separating the Ely and Stuntney islands, but quite close to the latter. The exact position is shown on fig. 1. It may not be a coincidence that the hoard lay within a few feet of the course of an ancient causeway connecting the two islands. Although the age of this and of another a short distance to the north-east remains uncertain, it has recently been shown by Mr. T. C. Lethbridge,

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* xiii (1933), 266–96; xv (1935), 284–319; xvi (1936), 29–50.

² *P.P.S.E.A.* vii, 395–8.

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F.S.A., that a causeway to the south-west, connecting Barway and Little Thetford, dates from the Late Bronze Age, sherds of Deverel-Rimbury type having been recovered from the brushwood substructure.¹ The cluster of bronzes at either end of the

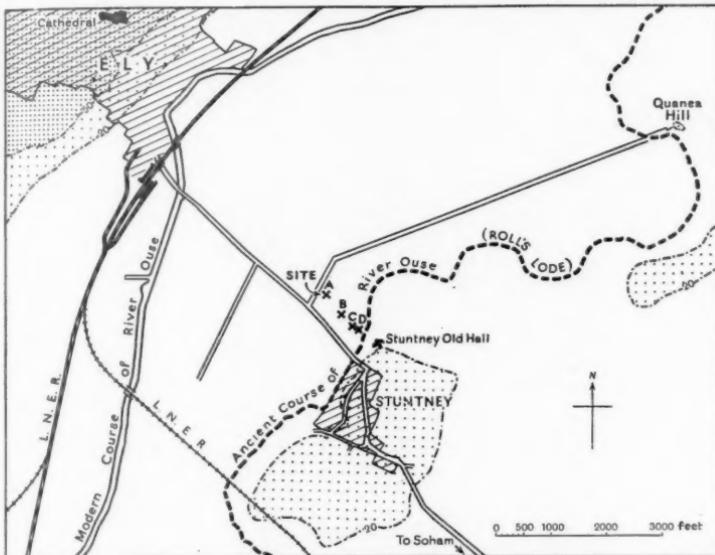


FIG. 1. Map showing the position of the find and of the borings (A-D)

Stuntney causeway is also suggestive of traffic between the two islands during the Bronze Age.

THE WOODEN TUB

The tub in which the bronzes were found was badly damaged by the time we reached the site, the upper portions having been ploughed away and the lower remaining part disturbed at the time of the discovery. Work on the fragments recovered, however, confirmed the ploughman's statement that it was originally of cylindrical shape. It was formed of two parts, a body and a base (fig. 2). The body was hollowed out of an alder trunk, the growth-rings of which were found by Dr. Godwin to conform to the shape of the finished vessel. The external diameter was approximately 12 in. Apart from a few cuts near the base the outer surface seems to have been smooth and rounded. When assembled the fragments made up in the aggregate some 24

¹ P.C.A.S. xxxv (1933-4), 86-9.

out of $37\frac{1}{2}$ in. of the external circumference. The walls of the tub varied in thickness from $\frac{2}{3}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ in., but the bottom few inches of the body had been left thicker to allow the cutting of a groove to retain the base. Unfortunately this was not found complete, but sufficient was recovered to make it likely that it was formed of one piece of alder wood $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in thickness. Portions of the bevelled edge were found broken in the groove, but a segment of the base amounting to a fifth or a quarter of the whole was

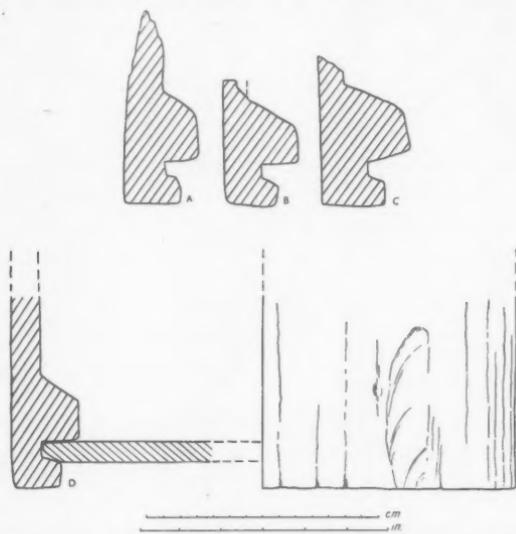


FIG. 2. The two-piece alder vessel from near Stuntney, Ely

recovered with its edge intact. As shown in the sections the groove and its two flanges are irregularly cut, but examination of the former shows that a sharp knife was used. As the tallest pieces of body only amounted to some $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., the total height of the vessel must remain conjectural, but analogy with a comparable specimen from Glastonbury suggests that it may well have been as much as 30 in.

To judge from somewhat inadequate accounts, the Stuntney tub appears to belong to a class frequently found in Irish bogs containing 'bog-butter'. Describing one such from Newry, co. Down, W. Frazer wrote:¹

The bottom of such wooden vessels is distinct from the body, and composed of a separate flat piece of wood; it appears usually to be formed out of a kind of timber different from that used in making the vessel

¹ *P.R.S.A.I.*, 5th Ser. ii, 285–6.

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itself. It fits into a groove sunk for its reception, and it is probable that the circular bottom piece was forced into the groove after prolonged immersion of the cup itself in water, and retained in position by subsequent shrinking of the damp timber as it slowly dried. The present specimen would appear to have its bottom part thus fitted in; it is composed of elm, whilst the vessel is made from yew.

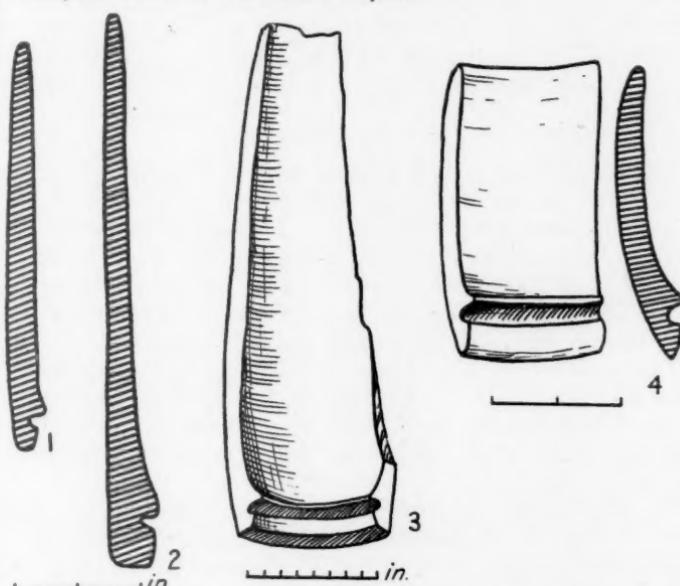


FIG. 3. Two-piece wooden vessels (X14, X40, X29, and X24) from Glastonbury Lake-village. After Bulleid and Gray

It will be noted that the only respect in which the Stuntney specimen differs from the Irish vessel is that the base is made of the same kind of wood as the body. As to the method by which the base was inserted into its groove, the present writer is not prepared to offer an independent opinion.

The dating of the Irish tubs remains uncertain, but from England we have the well-dated series from the Glastonbury lake-village,¹ where side by side with small specimens furnished with comparatively slight grooves and ill-developed flanges (fig. 3, nos. 1, 2, 4) there occurred a large vessel (fig. 3, no. 3) closely resembling that from Stuntney.

The Glastonbury find raises the whole question of the sequence of forms of wooden domestic vessel in prehistoric Britain, since

¹ A. Bulleid and H. St. G. Gray, *The Glastonbury Lake Village*, i, chap. xi, Glastonbury, 1911.

it included, side by side with the two-piece type, specimens cut from one piece and others built up from staves. In general it seems likely that domestic vessels passed through much the same stages of development as boats. The following table shows the main sequence:

<i>Domestic Vessels</i>	<i>Boats</i>
Single-piece	Dug-out
Two-piece: separate base fitted into groove	Dug-out with separate stern- board fitted into groove (e.g. the Brigg boat) ¹
Stave-built	Plank-built

The single-piece type is of great antiquity, occurring in Neolithic levels in the Swiss lake-villages. A bowl from Robenhausen, illustrated by Keller,² had a diameter of over 15 in. With the possible exception of a shallow bowl with inlaid gold plaques from Caergwrle, North Wales,³ however, we have as yet no single-piece domestic wooden vessels of great antiquity from Britain, although such must assuredly exist.⁴

The stave-built type, on the other hand, which occurred at Glastonbury in both its dowelled and hooped varieties, is not known to have reached Britain before the latter half of the Early Iron Age, when it also occurs in a Belgic milieu (e.g. the Aylesford bucket).⁵

The main advantage of the stave-built as opposed to the single-piece type lay in its greater lightness and ease of handling. In this the two-piece form occupies an intermediate position. For one thing it allows of a thinner base than would be the case with a single-piece vessel, without loss of strength. Further, it enjoys a technological advantage over the more primitive form, where anything more than a shallow bowl is in question. When a tub of good capacity was required, recourse would be made to a tree of large girth, which would often mean an old tree with a soft core. The device of inserting the base separately would allow of the use of soft-cored trees of a kind unusable for single-piece

¹ Found during the construction of gas-works at Brigg, Lincs., and provisionally attributed to the Bronze Age by Mr. C. W. Phillips, F.S.A. (*Arch. Journ.* xc, 139).

² F. Keller, *The Lake Dwellings of Switzerland & Other Parts of Europe*, 51 and pl. xi, no. 10, London, 1866.

³ W. F. Grimes, *Guide to the Collections illustrating the Prehistory of Wales*, 83, Cardiff, 1939.

⁴ Since this was written Professor Sean P. Ó Riordáin has recorded (*Galway Arch. and Hist. Soc.* xviii, 40-2) a single-piece wooden vessel of handled-cup form, 4 in. high and 8 in. (prob.) in diameter, having a thin everted lip, found at a Late Bronze Age level in a bog at Oldtown Kilcachel, co. Roscommon.

⁵ *British Museum Guide to Early Iron Age Antiquities*, 124-9, London, 1925.

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vessels. The more advanced form would thus tend to economy in manufacture. The alder from which the body of the Stuntney tub was fashioned must have had a girth of at least 40 in. and might well have been in the condition described.

The Stuntney find carries back the age of the two-piece type in Britain by something like half a millennium. Indeed, such is our ignorance of the early cultures of these islands that, with the possible exception of the Caergwrele bowl, it appears to provide the only wooden domestic vessel of pre-Early Iron Age date from England and Wales. As such it constitutes a challenge. It is no mere freak, but a representative, albeit as yet a solitary one, of a class of vessel which must have occupied a place in the social life of its time second only, perhaps, to basketry and textiles, those other handicrafts too often lost to archaeology. Already in the Stone Age, as we know from bog and lake-side finds, the standard of wood-working was high. The improved implements which became available in increasing numbers and variety as the Bronze Age wore on must greatly have widened the range of what was technically possible in this material. Thus, it would only have been possible with metal implements to cut grooves with the accuracy required for the Stuntney tub or the Brigg boat.

Something can be learnt about wooden vessels from surviving ceramic forms. Thus, we can infer the existence during the Early Bronze Age of straight-sided wooden-handled mugs from the handled beakers found in the Cambridge district which preserve this form. In certain instances, as Mr. Stuart Piggott has shown,¹ the wooden prototype serves to explain features of ceramic decoration such as the concentric circles on the base of the handled beaker from Bottisham,² deriving from tree growth-rings. The lathe implied by the Wessex shale cups is also significant.

The high survival value of pottery causes its importance to be rated unduly high. In fact, at most times and among most people ceramic vessels have probably ranked well behind those made of more perishable substances. During the Late Bronze Age, for instance, when metal chisels and gouges were relatively plentiful, it seems likely that wooden vessels were preferred for most purposes. Certainly the average Deverel-Rimbury urn seems better adapted to the service of the dead than the living. Even among people capable of and used to making fine pottery, wooden vessels were by no means despised, as is illustrated by the finds from Glastonbury. There is nothing to suggest that the lake-dwellers regarded their wooden vessels as in any way inferior to their pots. On the contrary, it is on the wooden tubs that some of the

¹ *Antiquity*, 1935, 348.

² *V.C.H. Cambs.* i, 265 and pl. II, no. 1.

finest decoration at Glastonbury can be seen. It goes without saying that among the pottery forms of the Early Iron Age in Britain certain can be traced fairly definitely to wooden prototypes—the shallow tub-like pots from the Caburn leap to mind¹—but this, of course, gives no inkling of the extent to which wooden vessels were used at this time. In excavating ‘poverty sites’ like those in chalk country, traces of wooden vessels have sometimes been recovered by observing casts formed by the drying and solidifying of such a moist rubble filling as might result when wooden bowls were thrown into a discarded storage pit. Examples were found by Dr. G. Bersu during each of the two seasons’ work carried out at Little Woodbury, near Salisbury, by the Prehistoric Society. It can be assumed that, when less attention is paid to amassing residual fossils from sites unfavourable to the survival of the organic materials which play so overwhelmingly important a part in the economy of simple societies, and more to exploring sites where these materials are liable to survive, the Stuntney tub will take its place among an extensive series of wooden vessels of similar age.

If we may judge from the Glastonbury analogy, the Stuntney vessel was designed for a domestic purpose, probably to contain liquids. Its use as a receptacle for a hoard of bronzes was thus a secondary one. In this it differs from the well-known wooden casket from a bog at Köppenow in north Germany,² which was evidently made to contain the bronzes neatly packed within. A feature of the Stuntney tub to be noted is that its inner face was strongly discoloured by contact with bronze down to, but nowhere below, the top surface of the upper flange. On the other hand, bronze objects and lumps of metal (e.g. pl. vi, top right) were found closely adhering to pieces of base. The absence of discoloration on the inner face of the projecting upper flange may be due to material having been packed round the edge of the floor of the tub, or to the bronzes having been placed at an inclined angle, possibly the larger pieces round the edge.

THE BRONZES

The bronzes belong to a founder’s hoard and comprise over 43 lb. of metal in addition to at least eighty objects. Many of the latter are badly damaged and in certain instances were found lodged in the sockets of larger specimens.

The following is an inventory of the hoard, the objects from

¹ E. C. Curwen, *The Archaeology of Sussex*, pl. xxvii, no. 7, London, 1937; also *S.A.S.C.* lxviii (1927), pl. ix, no. 70.

² Ebert’s *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, ii, Taf. 186/7.

LATE BRONZE AGE FIND NEAR STUNTNEY 59

which, together with specimen lumps of metal, are illustrated on pl. vi:

<i>Types</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Palstaves: looped uncertain	3 2	2 fragmentary; 1 ribbed fragmentary
Socketed axes: faceted ribbed plain	4 1 67	3 fragmentary damaged at top of socket 49 complete or nearly so; 16 badly damaged, but retaining loops; 11 frag- ments, of which at least 2 indicate additional specimens
Socketed gouge	1	found in socket of axe
Socketed spear-heads: hollow-headed solid-headed	2 1	fragmentary <i>ditto</i>
<i>Note:</i> also part of a socket with rivet-hole, which might or might not belong to one of the 3 spear-heads listed		
Rapier (?)	1	fragment of blade found in socket of axe
Knife	1	fragment of blade
Metal lumps	43 lb. 2 oz.	2 more or less circular cakes (c. 3½ in. diam.) and fragments of many larger ones (up to c. 6 in. diam.)

The hoard proclaims itself at first glance as of the Late Bronze Age. The task of dating it narrowly is more difficult in the Cambridge region than in the extreme south-east, where the period can be subdivided by the arrival of exotic material culture forms. In the Cambridgeshire fens the metal forms of the so-called 'U-V sword' complex maintained their dominance throughout the Late Bronze Age (conventionally dated 1000–5/400 B.C.). The 'carp's tongue sword' complex, which by its arrival in the eighth century B.C. makes a useful landmark in the chronology of the extreme south-east of England, failed to penetrate the fen basin to any marked extent, although well represented in Hertfordshire and Essex. Nevertheless, certain minor features in the metal forms prevalent in the extensive regions outside or marginal to the territory affected by the invaders can be equated with this movement, and it remains to see whether these features are present in the Stuntney hoard.

The feature to which attention may first be directed is the ribbed palstave (fig. 4, no. 5). In following up this clue I was indeed fortunate in securing the co-operation of Miss L. F. Chitty, F.S.A., to whom I am indebted for the schedule printed

at the end of this paper. In this schedule four main classes of ribbed palstave are listed separately, viz.:

- Class I . . . ribs below ridge
- Class II . . . ribs above ridge
- Class III . . . ribs above ridge; single rib or other design below ridge
- Class IV . . . ribs above and below ridge

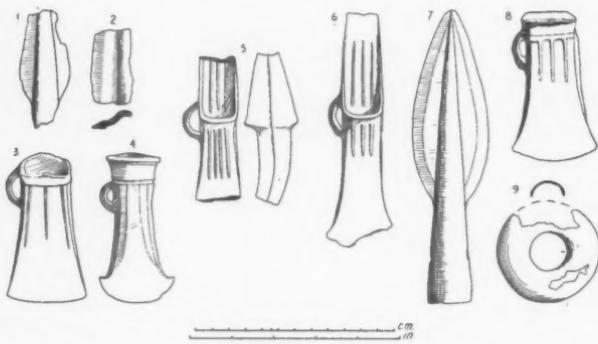
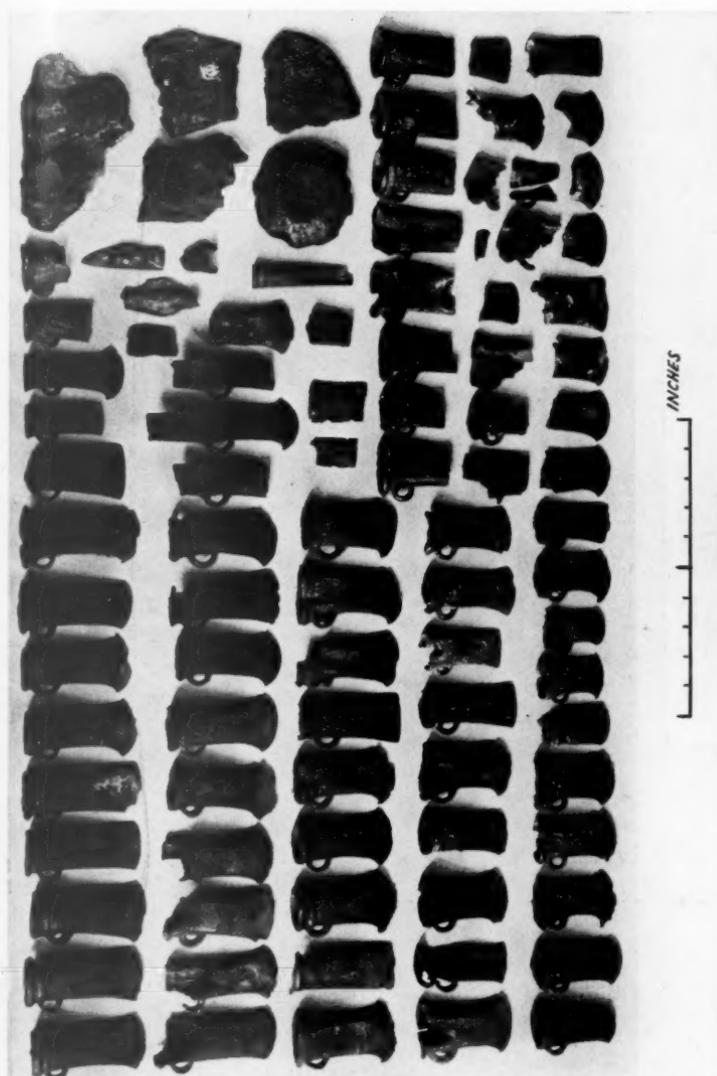


FIG. 4. Nos. 1-5: bronzes from the Stuntney hoard.
Nos. 6-9: bronzes from the Nottingham hoard

As is shown by the distribution map (fig. 5), the most widely distributed class is that with ribs below the ridge (class I), which occurs over most of the Lowland Zone of Britain, apart from the extreme south-east, and also in Wales, where it clusters densely in Merioneth. Class II, also absent from the extreme south-east, occurs on the fringe of this zone from Chardstock to Stamford. Class III encroaches more on the south-east, but is still absent from Kent. Class IV, to which the Stuntney example belongs, is likewise absent from the south-east and, indeed, seems to be confined to the fen basin and its margins. The distribution of the ribbed palstave certainly suggests that it is to some extent complementary to and, therefore, likely to be contemporary with the 'carp's tongue sword' complex.

Let us see what help we can get from a study of hoards in which such palstaves are present. The comparatively rare type with ribs above and below the ridge (class IV) only occurs in one other hoard, namely that discovered during building operations at Nottingham in 1860.¹ The following items are preserved at

¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd Ser. i, 332-3.



The Stunney Hoard



Hoard from Cumberlow Green, Rushden, Herts. (c. 1)

LATE BRONZE AGE FIND NEAR STUNTNEY 61

Nottingham Castle Museum, to the authorities of which I am indebted for courteous facilities:

- 1 ribbed palstave (class IV) (fig. 4, no. 6).
- 10 socketed axes, including 4 with rib decoration (fig. 4, no. 8).
- 7 hollow-headed socketed spear-heads (2 complete, 5 fragmentary; also 2 sockets) (fig. 4, no. 7).
- 1 tubular ferrule.
- 1 fragment of a square-socketed chisel.
- 1 loopless ring (fig. 4, no. 9).

Note. A knife with a swelling on the tang for attachment of handle, illustrated in the original publication, appears subsequently to have been lost.

It will be seen that in addition to the ribbed palstave (class IV) the two hoards have in common the ribbed socketed axe and the hollow-headed spear-head.

The ring (fig. 4, no. 9) merits special attention because its only exact parallel occurs in an obviously related founder's hoard recently recovered from Green End Road, Cambridge.¹ This, again, includes the ribbed socketed axe and the hollow-headed spear-head, as well as two Stuntney types absent from the Nottingham hoard, viz. faceted axes and socketed gouges, and others absent from Stuntney but present at Nottingham, viz. the tubular ferrule and the square-socketed chisel.

Thus, we have three founder's hoards—Stuntney, Nottingham, and Green End Road, Cambridge—which hang closely together. To these one may for the sake of completeness add the famous personal hoard from Congleton, Cheshire,² in which the ribbed socketed axe and the hollow-headed spear-head appear side by side with the tubular ferrule of Nottingham and Green End Road and the barbed spear-head (Greenwell's class VI) of the latter.

It would be superfluous to heap up examples. What matters is that the constellation of hoards, to which Stuntney belongs, can be related to the 'carp's tongue sword' complex. The nearest hoard containing the key elements of this complex, viz. the winged axe, the socketed axe with wing decoration, the carp's tongue sword and the bugle-shaped object, is that from Cumberlow Green, Rushden, Hertfordshire.³ It is a significant fact that this hoard (pl. vii), which has not hitherto been completely illustrated, also includes two of our key forms, namely the ribbed

¹ *P.C.A.S.* xxxii (1932), 59–60. Also *V.C.H. Cambs.* i, 278 and pl. vi.

² *Antiq. Journ.*, 1927, 62–4.

³ In the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, to the Curator of which I am indebted for the photograph.

socketed axe and the faceted axe. The same two types recur in the famous 'carp's tongue sword' hoard from Minster, Kent.¹ The conclusion which I draw from this is that the Stuntney and allied hoards in the region peripheral to the area dominated by the 'carp's tongue sword complex' are to be synchronized with the hoards farther south-east in which the exotic forms are present.

This can be checked by reference to one of the most famous of

<i>Heathery Burn Cave, Durham</i>	<i>Minster, Kent</i>	<i>Cumberlow Green, Ruisden, Herts.</i>	<i>Congleton, Cheshire</i>	<i>Green End Rd., Cambridge</i>	<i>Nottingham</i>	<i>Stuntney</i>
					×	×
×	×	×	×	×	×	×
	×	×		×		×
×			×	×	×	×
			×	×		
			×	×		
			×	×		
				×		
				×		
					×	
						Ribbed palstave (class IV)
						Ribbed socketed axe
						Faceted socketed axe
						Hollow-headed spear-head (class VB)
						Barbed spear-head (class VI)
						Tubular ferrule
						Loopless ring
						Socketed chisel
					×	Socketed gouge
						Tanged knife with swelling
	×	×				Winged axe
	×	×				Socketed axe with wing decoration
	×	×				Carp's tongue sword
	×	×				Bugle-shaped object

British domestic hoards from the Bronze Age. At Heathery Burn Cave, co. Durham,² three of the leading Stuntney forms occurred, viz. the ribbed socketed axe, the hollow-headed spear-head, and the socketed gouge; associated with these were a tanged knife with swelling for handle attachment of the very rare type found in the Nottingham hoard, and the socketed axe with wing decoration.

It is unnecessary to examine in detail the associations of the

¹ *British Museum Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age*, pl. iii, London, 1920.

² *Archaeologia*, liv, 87.

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other classes of ribbed palstave, but it is not without interest that two of the Sussex hoards containing samples of class I (Lewes¹ and Worthing²) can show socketed axes with wing decoration. In one of the Welsh hoards (Llantwit Major),³ on the other hand, the ribbed palstave (class I) occurred with two of the constant features of the Stuntney constellation—the ribbed socketed axe and the hollow-headed spear-head.

The relationships of the various hoards discussed can best be illustrated by means of a table (see p. 62), from which superfluous detail has been omitted.

It appears that on archaeological grounds the Stuntney hoard can be assigned with some certainty to the latter half of the Late Bronze Age in East Anglia (conventional dates 750–4/500 B.C.).

SCHEDULE OF RIBBED PALSTAVES

Abbreviations: BA, British Association card index of bronzes; ABI, Sir John Evans' *Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain*; BM, British Museum; P, private possession.

Note: This schedule is mainly based on material collected by Miss L. F. Chitty, F.S.A., to whom my best thanks are due.

Class I

	Hoards		
Berks.: Windsor Great Park, 1864–6	Several palstaves	BA	BM & Ashmolean
Glamorgan: Cardiff, Cyncoed	1 palstave, 1 socketed celt	Grimes, <i>Guide</i> , no. 346, fig. 68	Cardiff
Llantwit Major, Hayes House	1 palstave, 9 socketed axes (3 frag.), 1 tanged sickle, casting jet (?)	<i>ibid.</i> , no. 356, fig. 69	"
Hants: Brambridge, Twyford	One of 3 palstaves, probably a hoard	BA	Southampton
Portsmouth, Cobden Bridge, Bitterne End	Two of 4 palstaves, 4 socketed celts, ? sword	<i>Proc. Hants.</i> F.C. iii, 53–66	"
Lincs.: Nettleham	4 palstaves, 2 socketed celts (indented), 1 spear-head with basal loops, 1 spear-head (V), 1 ferrule	ABI, 93, fig. 83	BM
Merioneth: Llandanwg, nr. Harlech	Found with others	<i>Roy. Comm. Anc. Monum. Merioneth</i> , fig. 151, no. 4	BM
Llandderfel, Vronheulog	Palstave, spear-head (V) & other objects	ABI, 93	P
Llanegryn, Peniarth Uchaf, Coed y Graig	Palstave & socketed celt	Grimes, <i>Guide</i> , no. 357, fig. 68	Cardiff

¹ E. C. Curwen, *The Archaeology of Sussex*, hoard no. 23.

² *Ibid.*, hoard no. 29.

³ R. E. M. Wheeler, *Prehistoric and Roman Wales*, 156, fig. 57, Oxford, 1925.

Sussex: Bognor, Marshall Estate, c. 1924	90 damaged palstaves & fragments, 10 lumps of metal	Curwen, <i>The Archaeology of Sussex</i> , 218-19 <i>ibid.</i> 220	P P
Elsted, top of Beacon Hill, in earthwork, 1909	5 palstaves	<i>ibid.</i>	
Lewes	5 palstaves, 7 socketed celts (1 with 'wing' ornament), 13 lumps of metal	<i>ibid.</i>	BM
Worthing, Broadwater, South Farm Road, 1928	11 palstaves, 2 socketed axes (1 with 'wing' ornament)	<i>ibid.</i>	Worthing
Yorks.: Ulleskelf, 1849	1 palstave, 2 socketed celts (1 indented)	<i>ABI</i> , 93	Salisbury

Isolated finds

Berks.: North Hinksey, Pots Stream, 1898	Peake, <i>The Archaeology of Berks.</i> 52, 202	Ashmolean
Bucks.: Boarstall, nr. ('Found at the Brill')	<i>Archaeologia</i> , v (1776), 116	
Cumberland: Keswick	<i>ABI</i> , 93	Ashmolean
Denbigh: Llantysilio yn Ial	<i>ibid.</i> 93	BM
Hants: Copythorne, Tachbury Common, 'The Money Hill' barrow.	BA	Southampton
Hunts.: Ramsey	<i>VCH. Hunts.</i> i, 205, pl. II, 4	Peterborough
Lancs.: Manchester, nr.	<i>Tr. Lancs. & Ches. Ant. Soc.</i> 1 (1936), 84-5, 165-6	
Merioneth: Llanfair	<i>Roy. Comm. Anc. Monum. Merioneth</i> , fig. 151, no. 7	BM
Maentwrog	<i>ibid.</i> , fig. 151, no. 6	"
Monmouth: Raglan, nr.	BA	Bristol
Montgomerys.: Penygarnedd, Brynaber, nr. Pennant Melangell	BA	Welshpool
Norfolk: West Wretham	BA	Cambridge
Notts.: Ollerton, 1 mile north of	<i>Antiq. Journ.</i> v, 165-6	P
Oxford: Dorchester, nr.	<i>ABI</i> , 93	Ashmolean
Staffs.: Wolverhampton, Finchfield Wrottesley	BA	P
Suffolk: Lakenheath, 1908	BA	BM
Lakenheath Fen	<i>Fox, Arch. Camb. Region</i> , pl. VII, 8	Cambridge
Ubbeston	<i>ABI</i> , 93	"
Wilts.: Ashton Keynes, gravel pit at Spratt's Gate	<i>N.Cots. F.C.</i> xix, 96-7, pl. vi	Cirencester
Donhead St. Mary, nr. Castle Rings	<i>Wilts. Arch. Mag.</i> , xxxvii, 133	Salisbury
Wylie, 1876	<i>ibid.</i> 134	"

*Class II**Isolated finds*

Devon.: Chardstock, Wootton Farm, Barley Down Exeter	BA	Taunton
Hants: Tadley, 1904	BA	Exeter
Lincs.: Stamford, nr.	BA	P

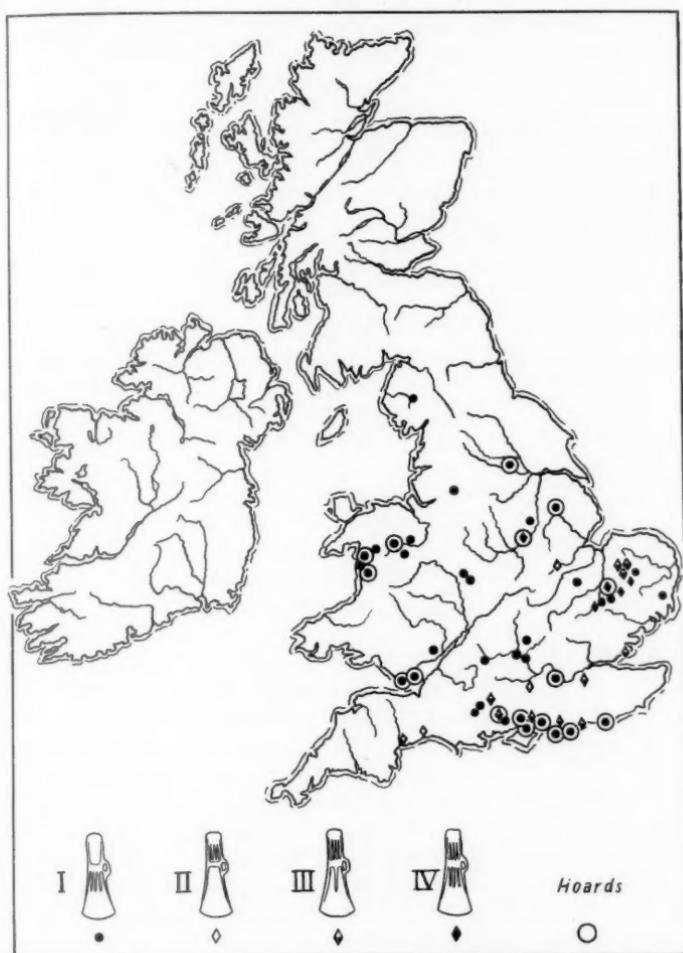


FIG. 5. Distribution map of ribbed palstaves

Note. This map is based mainly upon information kindly supplied by Miss L. F. Chitty, F.S.A.

*Class III**Hoard*

Wilts.: Downton, 1864.	Two, part of hoard of	<i>ABI</i> , 89	Salisbury
	four?		

Isolated finds

Essex: Southchurch	BA	Colchester
Hants: Curdrige, Fairthorne Manor	BA	P
Norfolk: Castleacre (2): i. Beloe Coll. ii. '1864'.	BA	Norwich
Sporle-North Pickenham boundary	BA	"
Sussex: Brighton, nr. (part of hoard?)	BA	Brighton
Bignor, Westburton Hill	<i>ABI</i> , 84	BM
Wilts.: Downton (another)	<i>ABI</i> , 91	Salisbury
Woodford & Amesbury Down, between	BA	"

*Class IV**Hoards*

Cambs.: nr. Stuntney, Ely	For details see text of present paper	Cambridge
Notts.: Nottingham	Ditto <i>ABI</i> , 93	Nottingham

Isolated finds

Cambs.: Cambridge, nr.	<i>ABI</i> , 93-4	BM
Norfolk: Thetford	BA	Ashmolean
Suffolk: Lakenheath		Cambridge

PART II. LOCAL STRATIGRAPHY

By H. GODWIN

The position of the bronze hoard discovery is shown in the map, fig. 1. It is only just over 100 yards (91 m.) north from the main road between the Isle of Ely and the small island of Stuntney, and lies about 420 yards (385 m.) north-west of Stuntney Old Hall.

Between the two uplands of Stuntney and Ely is the main arm of Fenland which follows the course of the river Ouse, and the ground, now intensively dyked and drained, is of black fen-peat. It has been pointed out by Major Fowler that the present course of the river Ouse, close to the town of Ely, is artificial, and that the natural course of the main river is represented by a 'roddon', or raised bank of silt, which creeps round the flank of the Stuntney island. Until recent times a small stream known as 'Rolls Lode' persisted here, and the parish boundary follows its line closely. From the evidence of the greater roddon system of which this forms part, we can be sure that the silt of which it is composed was deposited in, or just before, Romano-British times. The streams then occupied deep channels through the earlier fen-deposits of peat and clay.

The stratigraphy at the site of the hoard was investigated by

digging and by the use of a Hiller peat auger. It will be seen from fig. 6 that a depth of 190 cm. of peat was proved: this was all a very humified sedge-peat containing practically no recognizable plant remains, especially near the ploughed surface. Between 70 and 115 cm. wood fragments (probably alder) were abundant, and at 140 cm. the peat was appreciably silty. The Fen-Clay reached at 190 cm. had the soft greasy texture and blue colour so characteristic of this deposit elsewhere in the south-eastern Fenland. It was easily established that the undisturbed base of the wooden tub which held the hoard lay at 20 cm. depth in this series. The fen surface at this point was at +3·1 ft. (1·0 m.) O.D.

A boring subsequently made close to this site (boring A—see map, fig. 1) gave the following results:

Black humified sedge-peat	0-1·20 m.
Soft Fen-Clay with abundant <i>Phragmites</i> (reed)	1·20-2·05 m.
Brown <i>Phragmites</i> peat, woody at base	2·05-2·25 m.
Stiff basal clay	2·25-

It will be seen that here, where the Fen-Clay has been penetrated, a lower peat bed was proved as in other parts of the neighbouring Fenland. The surface-level of the Fen-Clay (about —1·0 ft. O.D. here) is conformable with its usual height, so that we may regard the beds here as merely part of the sequence already described,¹ as found widely over the Fenland region. The abundance of *Phragmites* in the Fen-Clay shows that this must have formed in almost fresh-water conditions, and indeed this site must lie very close to the limit of landward extension of this deposit.

The lower peat was proved again below the Fen-Clay in boring B (see fig. 1). The Fen-Clay surface in general lay at —1·0 ft. O.D., but in the ditches it could be seen that its upper surface had been eroded in places by steep-sided channels a few feet wide. These are now filled with black peat such as covers all the Fen-Clay, and constitute the 'Old Runs' of Major Fowler. Since at the actual hoard site the Fen-Clay surface was considerably below —1·0 ft. O.D., we may well think that the hoard was sunk, accidentally or not, over the site of such a buried channel.

It was not considered necessary to link the stratigraphy here mentioned with that of the roddon near the Stuntney island, but

¹ H. Godwin and M. H. Clifford, 'Studies of the Post Glacial History of British Vegetation. I. Origin and Stratigraphy of Fenland Deposits near Woodwalton, Hunts. II. Origin and Stratigraphy of Deposits in Southern Fenland', *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc. B*, 229.

borings C and D (see fig. 1) indicated the position of the marginal deposits of the roddon channel.

It has previously been shown that the Fen-Clay in this part of the Fenland was laid down in the Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age, so that the results just outlined for the local stratigraphy

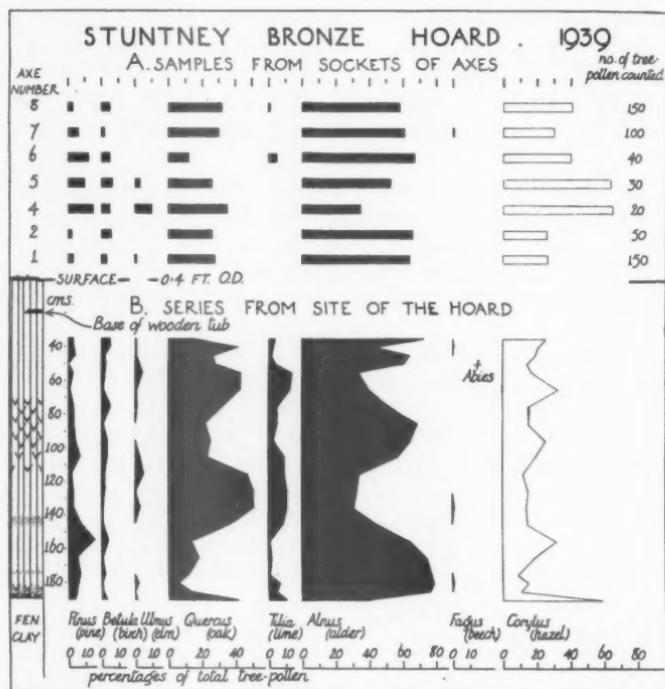


FIG. 6. Pollen diagram

show that either the fen or shallow brackish water existed between the Ely and Stuntney islands from the Neolithic period onwards. Excavations by the Fenland Research Committee have already shown that the Early Bronze Age horizon in the south-eastern fens lies just over the Fen-Clay surface, and this agrees satisfactorily with the present position of the bronze hoard, which is 170 cm. above the clay on the site itself, probably in a channel, and about 100 cm. above the general level of the Fen-Clay. It is of course probable that the hoard was inserted into the fen-peat and that the Late Bronze Age horizon was therefore more than 100 cm. above the top of the Fen-Clay.

POLLEN ANALYSES

Since the foundation of the Fenland Research Committee the method of pollen-analysis has been employed to provide a knowledge of the forest history of the region. This forms a background scale against which other events can be seen, and by which they can sometimes be dated. It has proved possible to distinguish and apply to the numerous collection of pollen diagrams from the Fenland a system of numbered zones, which reflect successive phases of this forest history; and the validity of these zones is supported by the way in which they agree with an extensive and varied range of archaeological, climatic, and physiographic events. The major zones are shown in the table below, together with the well-known Blytt and Sernander climatic periods.

Abbreviated Table illustrating phases of Forest History in the Fenland Basin and their Archaeological Contents

Key Sites	Fenland Zones ¹				Blytt and Sernander
	UPPER PEAT	FEN CLAY	VIII	Alder-oak-elm-birch (beech) zone	
Mildenhall Fen ² Stuntney ³	Late Bronze Age —		VII-VIII	Transition
Methwold Fen ³ Southery ⁴	Middle Bronze Age —		d
Plantation Farm ⁵ Peacock's Farm ⁶	Early Bronze Age —		VII c	Alder-oak-elm-lime zone	Sub-Boreal
Peacock's Farm	Neolithic 'A' —		b	Atlantic
Peacock's Farm	Late Tardoisian —		a
	(Earlier mesolithic stages not yet located in the fen basin)	LOWER PEAT	c VI b a	Pine-hazel zone	Boreal
			V	Pine zone
			IV	Birch-pine zone	Pre-Boreal

¹ Godwin, H., 'Studies of the Post Glacial History of British Vegetation. III. Fenland Pollen Diagrams. IV. Post-Glacial Changes of Relative Land and Sea Level in the English Fenland', *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc.* (in press).

² J. G. D. Clark, 'Report on a Late Bronze Age Site in Mildenhall Fen, West Suffolk', *Antiq. Journ.* xvi (1936), 29-50.

³ H. and M. E. Godwin, J. G. D. Clark, and M. H. Clifford, 'A Spear-head found in Methwold Fen, Norfolk', *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1934), 395-8.

⁴ T. C. Lethbridge, Gordon Fowler, and R. U. Sayce, 'A Skeleton of the Early Bronze Age found in the Fens', *P.P.S.E.A.* vi (1931), 362-4.

⁵ J. G. D. Clark, 'Report on an Early Bronze Age Site in the South-eastern Fens', *Antiq. Journ.*, xiii (1933), 266-96.

⁶ J. G. D. Clark, H. and M. E. Godwin, and M. H. Clifford, 'Report on Recent Excavations at Peacock's Farm, Shippea Hill, Cambridgeshire', *Antiq. Journ.*, xv (1935), 284-319.

In considering the Stuntney Bronze Hoard site we are concerned with nothing below the middle of zone VII, for the peat in which the hoard was found overlay the Fen-Clay, which in this part of the Fenland falls within zone VIIc.

The area of zone VIId is shown in the Fenland by several changes in the pollen curves, which make it the most recognizable key horizon between the Boreal-Atlantic contact (VI-VII) and the present day. The characteristic features are: (1) a definite but short pine maximum, (2) the beginning of a substantial rise in birch which is maintained in the following period, (3) the extinction of the lime curve, or its sudden fall to low values, (4) a temporary minimum in the elm curve, (5) the beginning of a steady rise in the curve of beech, which has been present irregularly before this. These criteria are not necessarily all evident together at any one site. The period covering these changes we regard as zone VII-VIII.

In zone VIII birch and beech keep the high values they had at the end of VII-VIII, hornbeam may be present in small amount, pine and the lime have almost disappeared, elm continues present in fair amount, but a clear elm minimum marks the beginning of the zone.

The evidence hitherto available has indicated that zone VII-VIII occurs at the transition between the Sub-Boreal and Sub-Atlantic climatic periods, probably taking in the later part of the Bronze Age in the Fenland, and the pollen diagram from Stuntney agrees with this dating. The profile shown in fig. 6 gives high percentages of lime pollen throughout, and this feature may be taken to show that it does not extend beyond zone VIId. This profile, however, stops *below* the base of the vessel (which was itself possibly buried), so that this zoning is not contradicted by the Late Bronze Age dating of the hoard. Samples of peat taken from the sockets of seven of the axes may be supposed to have contained peat of age similar to the hoard or possibly somewhat younger. It proved difficult to purify the samples sufficiently to obtain large pollen counts, but these (see fig. 6) gave results of some interest. It will be seen that in them the percentage of lime pollen has fallen to very low values, which may be regarded as an indication that the samples come from zone VII-VIII. The fact that pine and birch pollen values are somewhat higher than at the top of the profile supports this conclusion.

Where it has proved possible at other Fenland sites to obtain a pollen series in relation to an horizon in the later part of the Bronze Age, a similar behaviour of the pollen curves has been indicated. Thus, the Late Bronze Age site at Mildenhall Fen

disclosed a scatter of objects from a sandhill into the surrounding shallow peat, and the occupation level was marked in the pollen-diagram by a striking extinction of the lime-pollen curve and a definite pine-pollen maximum.

When the site of a late Middle Bronze Age spear was similarly investigated at Methwold Fen, the pollen profile stopped short of the presumed spear horizon and it showed lime pollen continuous to the top and rising pine-pollen values.

It is also of importance to notice that zone VII*d* and perhaps VII-VIII show marked tendencies to reflect in the character of peat formation drier conditions in the Fenland. Thus, at the Methwold Fen spear site mentioned above prostrate yew trees were found rooted in the peat at, or just below, the spear horizon. At the Stuntney site the sedge-peat, it will be seen, is interrupted between 120 cm. and 70 cm. by a layer of wood-peat which certainly also indicates conditions of at least local dryness.

The frequency with which Bronze Age implements have been found associated with tree layers in the peat in many parts of Britain is a feature which indicates the general and probably climatic character of this dryness.

CONCLUSION

In three major respects, therefore, the deposits at the Stuntney Bronze Hoard site confirm and strengthen our previous correlations of archaeology with Fenland history: the Late Bronze Age horizon (1) is some distance over the surface of the Fen-Clay, (2) lies above a layer indicative of drier conditions in the Fenland, (3) falls close to the pollen zone VII-VIII, which roughly corresponds with the transition from the Sub-Boreal to the Sub-Atlantic climatic periods.

Excavations at Ronaldsway, Isle of Man

By G. J. H. NEELY

PREPARATION of an airport at Ronaldsway, Isle of Man, revealed several matters of archaeological interest. Some conjectural ancient graves were destroyed before information was given, and wall bases were left which probably are related to an entry in the Object Name Books of 1866 at the Ordnance Survey Office: 'A number of years ago, stone cists containing human remains were turned up on improving circular eminence situated in the field west of Ronaldsway farmhouse. The mound is apparently artificial, higher on the east and west sides, being hollow in the centre; it is about 4 ft. in height, and about 100 ft. in diameter. Supposed by the authority quoted to have been a place of burial. Many cartloads of stones were also removed.'

East of the aerodrome early Christian local limestone slab-lined graves were next discovered, some orientated south of east but later ones mostly accurately placed (pl. viii). About 6 ft. long, they narrow slightly eastward from a width of 1 ft. in the west. One grave of stone from a distance was slab-floored and about 2 ft. wide by 1 ft. 6 in. deep. There seemed to be insertion of later burials into earlier graves, and the remains indicate a fairly tall, rather long-headed people. A grave 6 ft. 2 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. by 2 ft. had slate side-slabs and limestone end-slabs with bevelled stone buttresses; it was built on a former ground-level and was full of white quartz pebbles. Five feet below it a covered slab grave yielded a male skeleton stature 6 ft., cranial index 80-1. Just to the south were two children's graves (pl. ix, 1). Another grave north of this had its western slab of limestone faced with volcanic ash, 2 5 in. by 2 1 in., firmly wedged between uprights. About 1 in. from the edge a line was incised to form a frame within which were cut in the centre two concentric circles of radii 7 in. and 8 in. enclosing a cross pâtee. In the lower left corner of the slab was carved the unusual symbol of three Tau Crosses, the central one higher than the others, suggesting a Calvary, but the inclination of the laterals to the central figure may, says Professor Macalister, link it to representations of three nails on late stones (pl. viii, 2). It may originally have been an altar stone of about the eighth century A.D.

These graves are a few survivors of a larger number including rough unorientated burials containing iron fragments and tentatively associated with a battle of A.D. 1275 (see p. 80). When

much soil had been cleared, a paved and slightly raised platform 27 ft. long and about 6 ft. wide was discovered; it had several graves at its east end. The west end formed a step down to a larger lower pavement, and here a paved and partly kerbed path led 18 ft. to the south-west and then ended. The main pavement continued westwards until at 10 ft. from the step mentioned it



FIG. 1. Map showing position of Ronaldsway

divided into a narrower westward and a broader north-westward branch. The former widened and deteriorated into loose stone with indications of slag and charcoal. The latter also widened similarly and had a limpet midden near its base.

The paved platform at its east end is the highest part of the whole area and a focus of paths, and it was made above some of the earlier graves, but seemed earlier than some of the later ones.

A little north of the field-gate were found several hastily buried unorientated skeletons and one iron belt-buckle. A little farther north again a number of skulls or portions of skulls, brachycephalic and square-faced, were found; some may have been

thrown in when the road was widened. A limpet-shell midden was uncovered 14 ft. from the gate and 24 ft. west of the road, as also a winkle-shell midden 70 ft. from the gate and 14 ft. from the hedge bank.

Apparently a pavement scheme once extended northward in the eastern part of the site, and a portion 80–100 ft. north of the field-gate is well preserved, but many parts have been interfered with by later smelters to make fireplaces. At about 100 ft. north of the field-gate the pavement turned westward and narrowed from 16 ft. to 10 ft., and at 21 ft. from the road a paved entrance, 9 ft. wide, with evidence of the swinging of a gate, was discovered. About 20 ft. farther along the pavement ended. There were remains of a wall of limestone blocks associated with the pavement's outer edge, and these could be traced another 45 ft. westward.

On the south side of the site a midden was found 110 ft. west of the road, and 35 ft. farther on a circular hut base (2 in plan) 20 ft. in diameter; the floor was covered by burnt matter, suggesting destruction by fire (pl. x, 1). Near the centre of the stony hut-floor was a large smooth-topped stone, perhaps used for crushing, and in the north-east was a semicircular hearth. Outside the circle, on the north, was a crescentic store 4 ft. by 2 ft. On the south of the circle two short parallel walls led to another circle (1 on plan). North-west of circle 2 fragments of a possible further hut were discovered. Dwellings 3 and 4 were subsequently uncovered, and 3 had a floor of large stones like 2; a hearth was found on the east, and a low incurving wall, apparently guarding a water-hole or shallow well, on the west. Circle 4, larger, was 27 ft. in diameter and had a hearth, appropriately in the north-east. Its floor was deeply covered with ashes, and a horseshoe-shaped oven, 3 ft. 6 in. in diameter and lined with clay, was found, also small pieces of red pottery. It appears to have been a place for making pots. Charcoal and slag were found in a recess near the oven. It would seem that the oven and smelting recess were secondary to the building of the dwelling, which had been converted into a workshop. North of the circle, but close to the wall forming it, more red pottery sherds were found. On the same side, a few feet from the wall, a rectangular hearth of small slabs, 2 ft. in width by 3 ft. 6 in. in length, was also brought to light. The hearth bore evidence of having been used in connexion with pottery-making: probably for finishing pots.

Finds in circle 4 were confined to those stated, besides a piece of a bone needle, a fragment of iron, and a few animal bones. By taking up a small part of the north-east side of the circle, how-



1. Large grave with buttresses. Children's graves in foreground



2. Cross-slab, c. 8th century



1. Hut-circle. The first to be uncovered



2. Underground passage or sallyport

ever, we were able to recover a few pieces of pottery which were underneath the wall. These appeared to be of late Bronze Age date, and showed that the circle rested, in part, on the site of a more ancient occupation. About 12 ft. west of circle 4 a small box-shaped flue, or oven, was uncovered. It was made of light slabs, excepting the floor which was of earth, and measured 2 ft. in length by 1 ft. in breadth and 1 ft. 6 in. in depth.

Circle 5, north-east of 3, had a diameter of only 16 ft. Between 5 and the paved footway leading down from the central platform there was an increasing depth of soil of a more or less humus character, which we proceeded to clear away, exposing the wall of the circle marked 6 on plan, the diameter in this case being 20 ft. The footway from the central platform ended abruptly at about 5 ft. inside the area of the circle, but at a higher level; the floor of the dwelling was 2 ft. 6 in. below the end of the footway, which was built over the wall of the circle. The circle was thus quite definitely out of use as a dwelling when the footway was made. Shards of pottery were found where the south-east side of the footway intersected the circle, the floor of which was composed of large stones and protruding rock. On the south side of the circle, in a rock hollow, was a hearth of large stones measuring 2 ft. by 1 ft. 6 in.; near to it were fragments of pottery. The fact that burnt material extended beneath the wall of the circle suggested that it had been built on a site previously used. Finds in these circular huts were extremely rare.

The material below circles 1 and 2 and west of circles 1, 2, 3, and 4 is pebbly raised-beach accumulation, but the interiors of circles 3, 4, 5, and 6 are practically free from this. In circle 2 the pebbly material was deep and hid the wall-bases, which themselves were about 3 ft. below the field-level there. The beach material had obviously been re-arranged here and there by floods from the north and north-west. Pebbles also lay north of circle 4. Soil, now partly cleared away, must have been laid over circle 6, and the pathway laid on this when the central pavements were made. It is probable that the north part of the site had been dug for this soil, and its possible grave-slabs used for the central pavement. Dr. Wilfrid Jackson, of Manchester Museum, kindly identified bones mostly found at a spot a few feet east of the space between circles 5 and 6: *Bos brachyceros* (bones broken to extract marrow), boar, domestic pig, a small breed of sheep, a small horse, cat and dog teeth, bird bones, probably wild geese and sea-fowl.

A sunken wall, 40 ft. west of circle 4, was uncovered and found to be the revetment of the inner side of a ditch 3-4 ft. deep,

6–8 ft. wide below, and 14 ft. across at the top. It was followed north for 75 ft. and south to the south-west corner of the site, where it curved eastwards. Near the spot at which it was first uncovered were two strong retaining walls crossing the ditch and 9 ft. apart; they clearly supported the roadway across the ditch to the main western entrance to our site.

The Object Name Books of the Ordnance Survey (1866) perhaps refers to this: 'On a slight eminence in a field immediately north of the above farmhouse (Ronaldsway) numerous stone-lined graves, containing human remains, have been discovered. About forty years ago, the remains of the fence enclosing the same was removed, now leaving no traces but the levelled mound which can barely be traced. No indications of a chapel having stood here have been discovered.'

A search eastwards from the south-west corner led to the finding of the wall again, beyond a gap of some 50 ft. where much interference, probably by smelters, had occurred. The wall and ditch, once found again, were followed to a spot 39–48 ft. west of the road where a stone-paved patch crossed the ditch and led to the southern entrance to our site. A few feet west of the entrance a small slate flag was found built into the wall, having incised on it a plain cross; it had probably been taken from a grave. From this point the wall and ditch began to deteriorate and to curve north-eastward, both ending at 24 ft. from the road. Examination of the ditch in many places during this digging showed that some of it had been cut through the limestone rock.

In the north-west part of the site was found the base of a building with a footway leading towards the central paved area. The building had a south-east façade about 35 ft. long, its north-east wall was strong; the north-west wall had been plundered to make smelters' fireplaces. About 2 ft. from the front wall, 15 ft. from the south-east interior corner, was a fireplace. Finds in this probable dwelling included a double comb and fragments of iron. East of the dwelling a few inches of bronze chain and a small flat bar or pin 3 in. long were collected.

Fifty feet west of the main road, and 40 ft. north of the northern wall of the site, a winged entrance was uncovered leading to an underground passage or sallyport 2–3 ft. below the ground-level (pl. x, 2). The passage had rubble walls about 2 ft. apart and 4 ft. 6 in. in height. It extended to 8 ft. 6 in., where after widening slightly it ended abruptly. A few stones left appeared to mark the former course of the eastern side of the compartment or passage, but there was nothing left to show the position of the wall opposite to it. At 24 ft. from the entrance, at a slightly

higher level, there were, however, found the same evidences of smelting operations as had been met with so frequently during the work, and the heaps of stones here probably account for those formerly lining the south end of the sallyport. Owing perhaps to the disturbed state of the ground, we were unable to establish any former entrance to the sallyport from inside the burial-ground.

A small area embracing a group of slab and lintel graves, lying to the east of the central platform, was next examined. It yielded the beam of a bronze weighing-balance of unusual type, a lead weight, fragments of a bronze pan, also one or two bronze wire rings and small pieces of string, formerly used for suspending the pan. The length of the beam was found to be 3' 6 in. (9 cm.) between the centres of the holes for attaching the pans, which were suspended from below the heads and necks of birds ornamenting the ends of the beam. At its centre, cast solid with the beam, was a vertical tongue, pierced with a hole from which the balance was suspended and forming the fulcrum of the beam. From the centre to one side of the vertical tongue the beam had been cut, apparently at a time subsequent to its construction, into twenty-four divisions or notches, three of which are marked with vertical lines incised down each face of the beam. The lead weight is conical in shape, has a bronze ring embedded firmly in the apex, and is deeply marked with four vertical cuts or lines on one side, and one, perhaps accidental, on the other.

The balance was found above the south edge of a lintel (slate) grave, forming one of a number of graves which had been crushed by lorries passing over them. There were no other finds which would give any clue to the date of this particular burial; but, to judge from similar graves found in the island, it could belong to the period *circa A.D. 800*. Special thanks are due to Mr. F. G. Skinner, Science Museum, South Kensington, and to Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, Medieval Antiquities Department, British Museum, for help in the matter of this balance, which they are studying in more detail (p. 87).

GENERAL REVIEW AND INTERPRETATION

Chipping floors of the so-called Tardenoisian culture in the neighbourhood may be the earliest, quite undated, evidences of human occupation in this area. Tanged flakes of the Bann culture (N. Ireland) have also been found at Ronaldsway and at some twenty other places in the island. Many nondescript flint chips have been collected hereabouts. Four hundred and twenty-five yards east of our site a tumulus was destroyed many years

ago. An account written about 1866 states that it had contained 'a number of stone cists and urns with human remains; the urns were of baked clay and devoid of ornament'. Townley, a visitor of 1790, may have referred to this site; 'I had not gone far down the bye road before I discovered three fine barrows in a large field; placed in a triangular form. They are so large and perfect, that it was astonishing to me that I had never heard them noticed.' These tumuli were sufficiently close to the burial-ground to leave little room for doubt that the whole neighbourhood was occupied in the mid-Bronze Age, or shortly afterwards.

Sherds of cordoned and encrusted urns, found during the course of the excavations, help to show that this occupation was continued through the late Bronze Age. The presence, also, of many sherds of store and cooking-pots, apparently of the period referred to by Dr. Clark, F.S.A., as the 'Ultimate Bronze Age' of the island, brings the record to a still later date. The latter period, following the late Bronze Age when Mann had apparently been isolated for a very considerable period, i.e. without further settlement by exterior peoples, and had developed certain forms and types of pottery of its own, may have lasted well into the Early Iron Age of England.

The decorated cross-slab of the eighth century and the small slate flag with the simple cross, together with the orientated graves, all point to early Christian occupation. The circles discussed above are probably related to this phase of culture, though finds are rather inconclusive. The wall-bases forming the circles seem to have supported huts of wattle or some other light material. There are analogies here with what has been found at Nendrum, co. Down. The rectangular building in the northwest and the central paved area, in one place extending over the edge of circle 6, seem to be later.

We have seen that the site is defended, on the north by a wall having a gate and sallyport, and on the west by a fosse or ditch, with built escarp and entrances, any former rampart having been returned to the ditch; the line of defence on the east being almost obliterated by the modern public highway. This must have been the work of a powerful chief, with constructional experience, to dominate one of the chief ports of the island, now Derbyhaven, sheltered from prevalent winds and, as Armitage Rigby said, specially suitable in a period in which ships of war were beached. It was presumably an earlier defence than Castle Rushen, in Castletown, which was begun about the middle of the thirteenth century.

Ronaldsway is a former name for Derbyhaven and it is variously written Ragnaldsvagr, Rognaldswath, Ramsway, Ranoldsway,

and sometimes by the Manx form of Runisvie or Roonyesvie, i.e. good anchorage. In the chronicle of the Monks of Rushen Abbey it appears as Ragnaldswath, Rognalswath, and Ronaldwath. *Vagr* is a bay, *Wath* is a ford.

It is first recorded in the form Rognaldswath, in the year 1228, when mention is made in the chronicle that Reginald, who had been expelled from Mann by his brother King Olaf, had landed there. In 1238 Harald, Olaf's son, is also recorded to have landed at Ronaldsway, and there are many other mentions in historical accounts of the use of this port. The ancient landing-place would seem to have been immediately east of the present Ronaldsway farm-house, where the road from the north, passing the old burial-ground, turns south-west at the shore.

Close to the shore, and about 200 yards below the burial-ground, are springs which may have supplied the settlement with water, and at which we may suppose that early shipmasters using the port replenished their ship's supply of fresh water. I am informed that a generation ago this port was well known by the Norse name of 'Port Helya', and it is still frequently referred to by this name.

In a description of the Isle of Man, included in Daniel King's *Vale Royal*, 1656, it is stated: 'The harbours for shipping are Douglas, the safest, then Ramsway (Ronaldsway), then Ramsey.' A map issued with the same publication shows an attempt to delineate some of the trackways and bridlepaths of the island. One of these trackways, connecting the north of the island with Ronaldsway, passes near our site. That site overlooked both Derbyhaven and Castletown Bay as well as the isthmus, or tarbert, between them, across which boats were dragged from one to the other. West of our site there seems to have been a lake draining to the south, and perhaps a ford (Rognaldswath = Reginald's ford) crossed the stream. It was an ideal site for maritime people.

Reginald, a man of war from his youth up, who occupied the throne of Mann between the years 1188 and 1226, maintained a powerful fleet, and is credited with having taken one hundred sail to the assistance of his brother-in-law De Courcy in Ireland. An ancient account says: 'King Rogn-wald was the greatest waiking (viking) in the western lands. It was three winters that he had lain out in his warships without coming under a smoky rafter.'

If we may assume that King Reginald resided in or near to Castletown before 1226, with his fleet at Ronaldsway, we have something to indicate who it was that constructed the fort, and whose name had been preserved in the present-day name of

the place. The record in the chronicle of the landing of Reginald in 1228, and of his delaying at Ronaldsway for nearly forty days, surely means that, having seized the fort, he assembled his army there before advancing on Tynwald (in the central valley of the island), where he was met by his brother, King Olaf, and slain.

At Largs in the year 1263 Norse supremacy was destroyed by Alexander III of Scotland. Magnus, the last Norse king of Mann, submitted to the Scottish king in 1264, and received a charter by which he held the island from the crown of Scotland. Magnus died in 1265, and the island reverted to the Scots. The Manx people, however, were not reconciled to their new masters, and in 1275 Alexander sent an army to enforce his sovereignty. A battle was fought at Ronaldsway on 8th October, and ended in a victory for the Scots. It has been suggested above that some of the rough and hasty burials may have followed the battle. Some of the more conspicuous burials may be later still.

All through the excavations patches of charcoal, accompanied by slag, were constantly met with in the areas bordering the burial-ground. Altogether more than thirty such smelting-places were found, sometimes in roughly built angles or channels in the stones of broken up pavements, and at other times in a mere depression in the ground. We found no trace of any furnace or other built structure for the purpose of smelting, and in no case did we find any slag or evidence of metal-working among the graves.

The slag appeared to be similar to that found at various places in Ireland during the past few years, and in this case could date from medieval times; it resulted from the smelting of iron. Both lead and copper are found within a few miles of the site and would seem to be more accessible; but although several pieces of galena (lead ore) occurred, we found no traces of working in either of these metals.

Perhaps it may be added, as some explanation of the smelting-places around the burial-ground, that there is said to be a tradition in Ireland that working in metals or the smiths' work was regarded as unclean, and needed purification by association with a sacred site.

Much voluntary help from members of the Natural History and Antiquarian Society is gratefully acknowledged, also personal help and suggestions from the Ven. the Archdeacon Kewley, M.A.; His Honour the Deemster Farrant; Rev. Canon J. Quine, M.A.; J. R. Drinkwater, M.A.; Professor H. J.

Fleure, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.; J. R. Bruce, M.Sc.; R. B. Moore, H.M. Attorney-General; W. J. Heaton; W. Cubbon, F.S.A. Scot.; Lt.-Col. MacClellan, R.A.; W. C. Cubbon; Elwyn Davies, Ph.D.; Canon Gell, M.A.; and many others. We are particularly indebted to Miss M. Dunlop, M.A., and to Mr. B. R. S. Megaw, B.A., for assistance in illustration.

Messrs. McKibbin and Kewley, the contractors to the airport, and their foreman, Mr. R. G. Harrison, were most helpful and obliging, as also were the officials of the airport.

We were fortunate in having the assistance of workmen who showed much interest, and even enthusiasm, in the work, special credit, if any one should be mentioned, being due to Mr. S. Craine, Ballasalla.

Finds

Finds came mostly singly and scattered from south of the central paved areas; the northern part of the site had been dug for soil at the time of the building of the pavements and the place has been much disturbed.

Parts of millstones and a few small objects were discovered in the area outside and to the north-west of the site, and between there and the road. Much of this area is well inside the aerodrome, and would probably repay further investigation.

The following is a list of finds:

Antler. A small portion of an antler, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length. The under side appears to be cut by a metal saw; use uncertain.

Armlets (pl. xii). (1) An unusually fine jet armlet or bracelet, under a large stone a little north-west of gateway of field. It is 2 in. in diameter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in width, D-shaped in section, and would fit over a child's hand. Probably Norse.

(2) Four pieces of broken armlets of shale and lignite. Two of the latter approximate to those in Heathery Burn Cave, co. Durham; these were recovered south of and not far from the field gateway. The other pieces were found in the ground west of the gateway. They are all unornamented, and may be of Norse origin.

Beads (fig. 2). (1) Annular bead, dark green opaque glass, white serpentine pattern.

(2) An amber bead, the circular perforation narrowing towards the

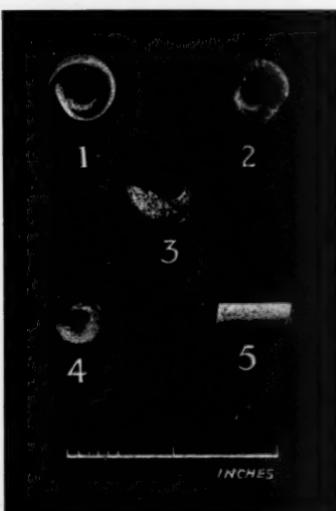


FIG. 2. Beads

centre. This is the only piece of ancient amber definitely known to have been found in Mann, and may be of Norse origin. Found east of hut 2.

(3) Part of annular bead of translucent yellow glass. From the north-west of the area. Described as 'seemingly of Viking date'.

(4) A spheroid of transparent greenish glass. South-west of field-gate.

(5) A cylinder of pale blue-grey opaque glass. From southern area.

Bone implements (pls. XIII, I and XIV). (1) Pins, needles, etc. These were found in the southern area, except where otherwise stated. With one exception (knitting needle) they varied from 2 in. to 3½ in. in length.

Two pins with ball-shaped heads, one from between huts 6 and 7.

Two pins with disc-like heads.

Two pins having flat, expanded heads, one unfinished.

One pin with pierced squarish head; may have been used as an awl.

Part of a pin. From hut-circle 4.

One curved needle. From heap of earth left by the contractors' workmen.

One broken needle. From sunken wall near to west entrance.

One knitting-needle, 6 in. in length. From near hut-circles.

Part of a knitting-needle.

(2) Six bone implements of various shapes. From southern area.

(3) Combs. Two parts of combs, both doubly toothed; one 1½ in. in length, and ornamented with continuous dot and ring; the other 3½ in. in length, and ornamented with continuous double-line X. The former was found a few yards south-west of field-gate; the latter, inside the rectangular dwelling in the north-west.

Bronze finds (pl. XII, 2). (1) Ring-headed bronze pin, about 2½ in. in length. The bronze had been tinned, and the terminals may have been inlaid with glass or amber; date about A.D. 800. From west of site.

(2) Part of the ring of a similar pin to above. From near hut 3.

(3) Part of bronze object like half a cleat in shape; use uncertain. From southern area.

(4) Two bronze rings, 1 in. and 1½ in. in diameter; also a small wire ring.

(5) Parts of bronze balance, consisting of a beam 3·6 in. (9 cm.) in length between the centres of the holes for the pan supports, and having birds' head terminations; fragments of a pan, and a lead weight. Divisions for a rider weight were cut into the beam on one side of the point of suspension, which was central (pl. XV).

(6) A small piece of bronze, about 2½ in. in length, thin and circular in section. May be part of an implement from an étui. Found below central platform.

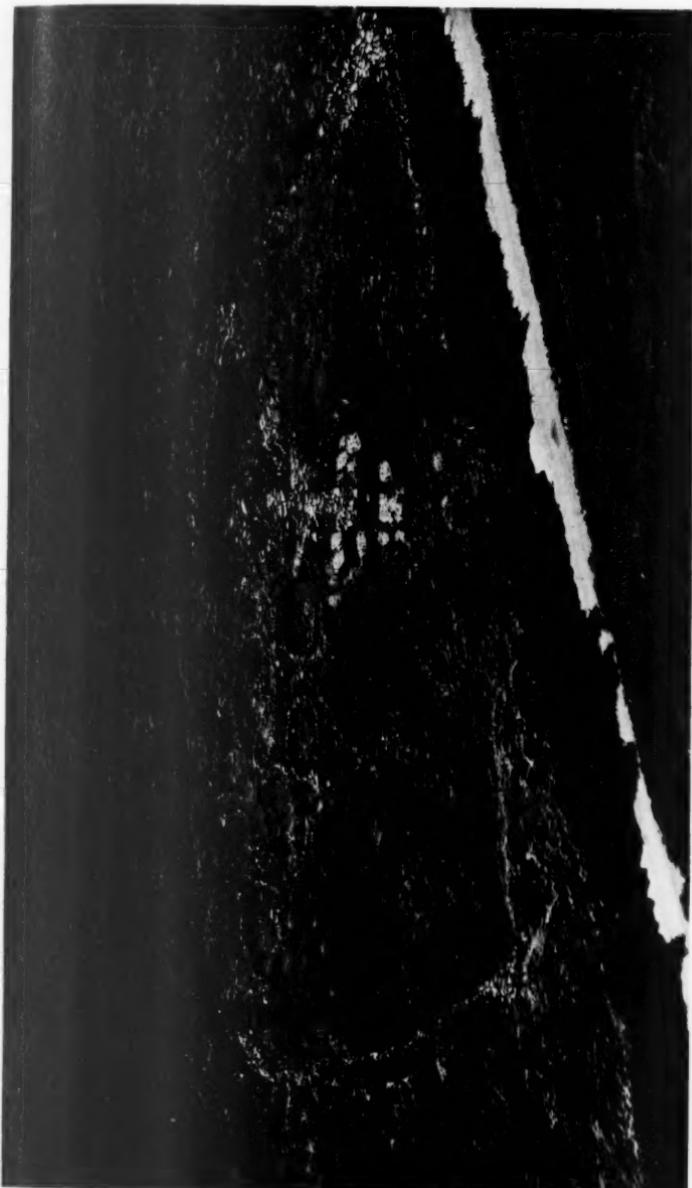
(7) Bronze pin, about 3½ in. in length. From the filling of the ditch south of western entrance.

(8) Part of a bronze pin. From western area.

(9) Portion of bronze tab, about 2½ in. in length and ½ in. in width, having interlaced ornament. From southern area.

(10) Broken bronze finger-ring. From southern area.

(11) A pair of bronze chain links, joined to another similar pair by double links. These were found near the northern boundary of the burial-ground, not far from 12.



Aerial photo of site



Armlets, rings, and whorls

EXCAVATIONS AT RONALDSWAY

(12) A small flat bar of bronze, 3 in. in length, having at one end a broken ring-head at right angles to its length.

(13) An ornamented flat fragment of bronze with curved edges, length 1½ in. Use uncertain; may be an ornament from harness.

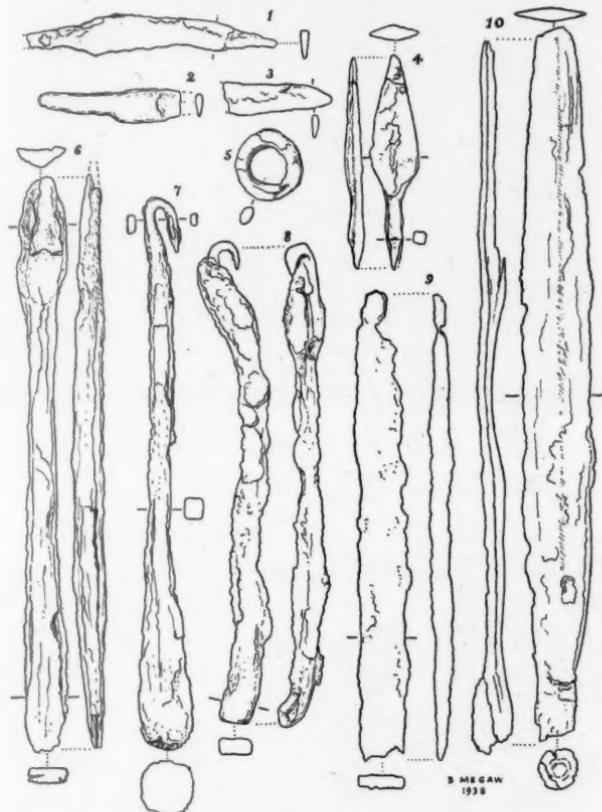


FIG. 3. Iron tools or weapons, etc.

(14) Small piece of ornamental tinned bronze about 1½ in. in length and having a hole in the centre for a screw or rivet, like a sneck.

Iron Finds (figs. 3 and 4). (1, 2, 3) Portions of knives? From about the central platform.

(4) Iron javelin-head, found among skeletal remains and humus on or about the central platform.

(5) Ring, oval in section, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. inside diameter.

(6) Gouge, about 10 in. long. From southern area.

(7) Implement, 10 in. in length, having a thickened butt, and tapering to a thin end in the form of a hook. From southern area.

- (8) Crooked bar, 8 in. in length.
 (9) Fragment of flat bar, about 8 in. long. Found north of gate.
 (10) Iron spear-head, from north of the central platform; length 13 in., socket broken.

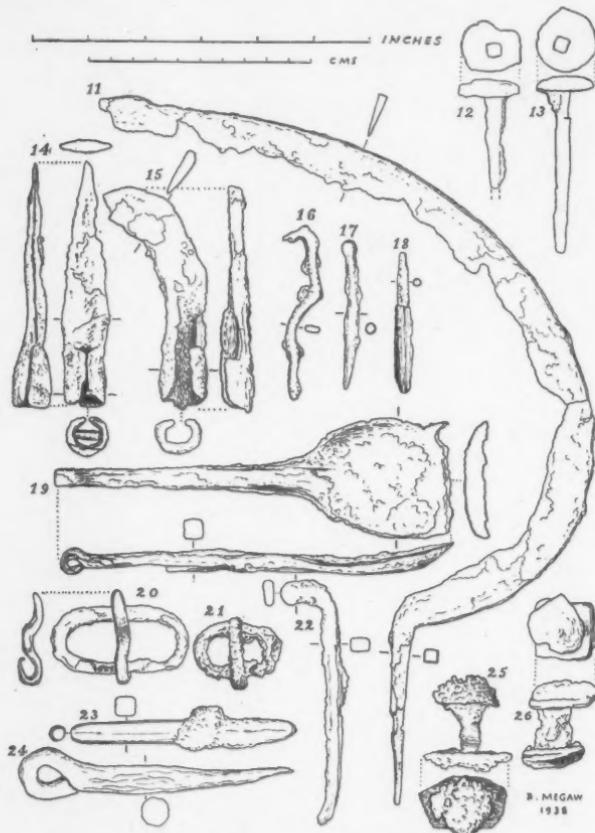
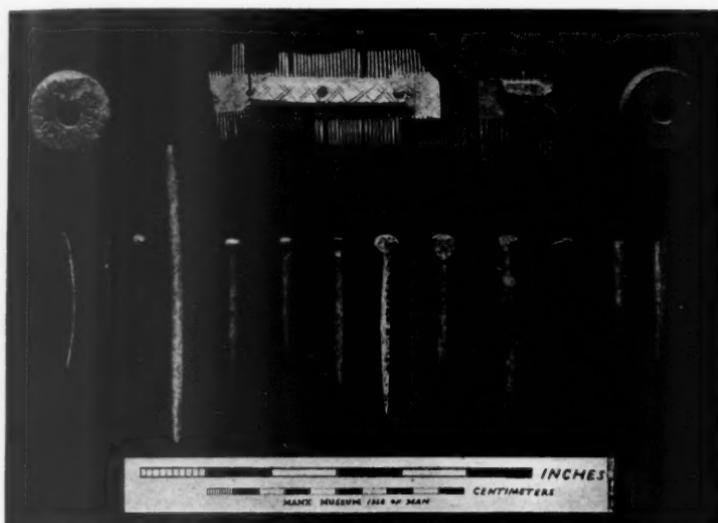


FIG. 4. Iron tools or weapons, etc.

- (11) Sickle, from southern area.
 (12, 13) Nails.
 (14) Pointed weapon or implement, having socket.
 (15) Curved implement or weapon, having socket. Found in hut-circle 4.
 (16, 17, 18) Fragments of iron, from various parts of the site.
 (19) Implement, 7 in. in length, having a thin handle broadening to 2 in. wide at the bottom. Much like a spoon in shape; use uncertain. From southern area.



1. Bone implements

4

10

8

7



1

3

9

14
2

6

11

13

2. Bronze finds



Bone implements

EXCAVATIONS AT RONALDSWAY

(20, 21) Iron belt-buckles. One from among skeletal remains north of gate, and one from north of central platform.

(22, 23) Fragments of iron.

(24) Nail with eye.

(25, 26) Bolts. More than 45 iron bolts were found, most of them near the field gate. Possibly the last remains of a boat.

Crosses. (1) Cross-slab of limestone. Found at west end of a large cist near centre of site, described in text; *circa* eighth century.

(2) A small slate slab, incised with a plain cross, evidently from a grave. Discovered built into the retaining wall of the ditch, immediately west of southern entrance.

(3) Silver cross, 2½ in. in length, ornamented with what looks like nineteenth-century work on earlier lines. Found near main road immediately north of old burial-ground.

Crucible. A small crucible, inside clean as though unused, seems to have been exposed, however, to great heat on the outside. Found in north-west of site.

Hones. Two parts of large hones found in the southern area, one perforated near one end for hanging. Two small hones, for razors? in same area, one perforated.

Millstones. Many fragments of millstones were found forming part of the central pavements. Some were portions of querns. More complete parts of both querns and of later type millstones were found by men employed to obtain soil, at some distance north-west of the old burial-ground. A saddle-quern was also recovered with an urn burial near the same area (see below).

Pottery. A cordoned cinerary urn was discovered outside the burial-ground area, about forty yards north-west of rectangular dwelling on the northern boundary. Any remains it may have contained had completely disappeared. The urn was badly crushed by lorries removing soil from the site.

Sherds of cordoned pottery from under the wall of hut-circle 4, and from below the floor of hut-circle 6. Much broken pottery was found at various places south of the central pavements, including sherds of encrusted and of 'Ultimate Bronze Age' ware; the largest quantity was recovered from midden on the southern boundary of site, mostly store and cooking-pots.

Flints (fig. 5). Numerous worked flints included the pointed butt of a probably Neolithic Irish flint axe or chisel. Flints related to the Bann River culture and others have been mentioned.

Holed Stones. One completely bored stone, and two partly bored, in southern area.

Jet Finger Ring. This incomplete faceted finger-ring appears to have been discarded because it broke in the process of manufacture.

Whorls. (1) One bone spindle-whorl or terminal, about 1 in. in height, having concentric circles for ornament. From southern area.

(2) One of bone, ornamented with continuous chevron pattern on both faces. North of hut circle 4.

(3) One of stone, thin, and ornamented with concentric circles on both faces. North of hut-circle 4.

(4) Two perforated stone discs, whorls? From southern area.

Pounders and *Pot-boilers*. Several found in the hut-circle area.

Sling-stones. Several found in different parts of the site.

White Pebbles. White pebbles covered the two large cists found in the early stages of the excavation, and the surrounding ground. They have not been found in such large numbers before at any burial-place in the island.

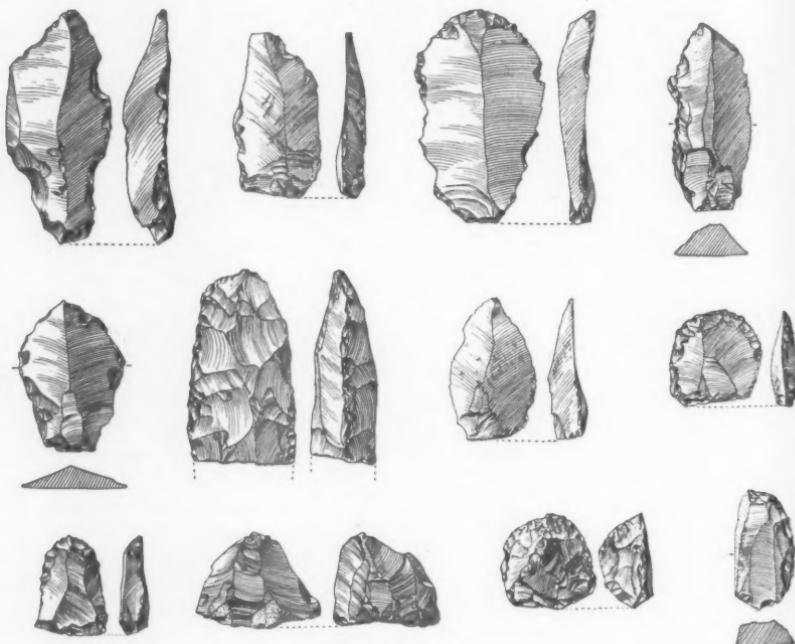


FIG. 5. Flint implements ($\frac{1}{2}$)

A Celtic Balance-beam of the Christian Period

By F. G. SKINNER, B.Sc., and R. L. S. BRUCE-MITFORD

DURING excavations carried out in 1937 by Mr. G. J. H. Neely on a Viking and pre-Viking site at Ronaldsway in the Isle of Man, a bronze balance-beam was discovered on the edge of a disturbed grave with a lead weight close by. A full account of the excavations appears in this number of the *Antiquaries Journal*. The balance-beam is, however, of unique interest, and it has been decided to make it the subject of a separate paper which is based on a comparison of the balance with recognized Viking, Saxon, and Romano-British types and on the results of an experiment conducted at the Science Museum, South Kensington. The balance and weight are now in the Manx Museum.¹

I

By F. G. SKINNER

The accompanying photograph (pl. xv, 1) shows the balance-beam suspended by a wire hook from a modern stand, on the base of which is the lead weight.

The ends of the beam are decorated with two zoomorphic heads; below the heads are holes for rings from which strings would support the pans. One such ring found attached to the beam is seen on the right-hand side; a series of 24 notches is cut along the top of this half of the beam. At the centre, cast solid with the beam, is a vertical tongue drilled with a hole to take the suspension-loop and forming the fulcrum of the beam. The beam is 3·6 in. (9 cm.) long between the centres of the holes for pan supports.

The lead weight is conical in shape, has a bronze ring firmly embedded in the apex, and is deeply marked with four vertical strokes incised in the side.² These marks and the beam notches have been lightly rubbed over with chalk to show up in the photograph (pl. xv, 1). The lead weight weighs 360·16 grains (23·33 gm.). Fragmentary remains of a pan found near the beam show that these were of the deep 'dished' pattern.

The general technical design of the beam is that of the Romans

¹ With the kind permission of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments, replicas of the balance and of the weight have been prepared by the British Museum and are now on exhibition in the Metrology Section of the Science Museum, South Kensington.

² A fifth cut on the opposite side appears to be an accidental scratch.

from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D., although the Roman improvements of the fourth century A.D., using a pin-fulcrum and forked suspension-piece at the centre of the beam, were known and used by the Vikings and Saxons (e.g. *British Museum Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, 1923, p. 162, fig. 214).

But two points of immediate interest arise: (1) the notches on the beam; (2) the association, if any, of the marked lead weight found with the beam. The notches obviously indicate that the beam was intended to be used with a sliding rider weight, or counterpoise, each notch having some predetermined weight value. This idea also was used in Roman times (*British Museum Guide to Greek and Roman Life*, 1929, p. 155, fig. 172), and was adapted from the Roman type of steelyard for determining quickly the weight value of articles without recourse to a number of loose weights. Rider weights are still used on modern chemical balances. Examination of the lead weight showed that the bronze ring embedded in the apex was inconvenient as a handle, but a groove in the lead just below the bronze ring suggested that a small metal hook or ring had originally been passed through this fixed ring, further suggesting the use of the lead weight as a sliding rider or counterpoise, and this appears to be in perfect condition.

To determine the effect of using the lead weight as a possible rider weight on the bronze beam, the beam was fitted with a pair of small scale-pans of equal weight, and the lead weight with a small hook of fine steel wire¹ (pl. xv, 2). The balance-beam when suspended was found to be out of balance, being light on the notched side, as may be seen in the first photograph, suggesting that the notches were an afterthought on the part of its owner. When fitted with temporary pans, the pan on the notched side required 0·4 gm. (6·17 grains) to counteract this lightness. Sheet weights of this amount are seen in the right-hand pan of the photograph. The sensitivity of the balance was then found to be 1·0 grain (0·07 gm.). The lead weight was then slung as a rider on the beam, and balanced against standard brass grain weights placed in the opposite pan, for each position of the lead weight along the twenty-four notches. The results are tabulated below with the addition of columns of gramme equivalents for convenience. The stand carrying the balance was placed on a level surface, with a vertical background ruled with parallel horizontal lines. Thus any angular deflection of the beam from the horizontal was easily visible. In the table below, the notches are numbered beginning from the middle of the beam and running

¹ Weight of steel-wire hook 1·2 grains; original hook would not exceed 3 grains.

out towards the pan end. The photograph (pl. xv, 2) was taken with the lead weight slung from notch 21 and shows it counterbalanced by exactly 300 grains in the opposite pan.

Three of the notches on the beam are picked out with vertical lines incised down each face of the beam, probably representing frequently used values. These marks occur at the notches numbered in the table as 6, 12, and 16.

The column of 'Differences per notch' shows that an even division of the value of the rider weight into twenty-four parts was aimed at, but not attained on account of rough workmanship.

In this case with a rider of 360.16 grains each of the twenty-four notches should have registered a progressive difference of about 15 grains. Actually, 11 of the notches give differences of 14 to 16 grains with a majority at 15 gr., and 5 more give differences within the range 13 to 17 gr., which with a beam sensitive only to 1 grain is not too bad. The two worst cases show a minimum and maximum variation of 10 and 19 gr. respectively. It may be regarded, then, that if this lead weight was actually used as the rider, the beam notches aimed at a division into twenty-

Weight Values of the Notches on the Beam

Rider at notch no.	Weight to balance		Difference per notch		Remarks
	Grains	Grammes	Grains	Grammes	
1	22	1.43	—	—	
2	29	1.88	7	0.45	
3	45	2.92	16	1.04	
4	62	4.02	17	1.10	
5	76	4.93	14	0.91	
— 6	90	5.83	14	0.91	
7	105	6.80	15	0.97	
8	120	7.78	15	0.97	
9	139	9.01	19	1.23	
10	153	9.91	14	0.91	
11	168	10.89	15	0.97	
— 12	180	11.66	12	0.78	Vertical mark here
13	195	12.64	15	0.97	
14	206	13.35	11	0.71	
15	221	14.32	15	0.97	
— 16	238	15.42	17	1.10	Vertical mark here
17	248	16.07	10	0.65	
18	260	16.85	12	0.78	
19	273	17.69	13	0.84	
20	285	18.47	12	0.78	
21	300	19.44	15	0.97	
22	313	20.28	13	0.84	
23	326	21.13	13	0.84	
24	342	22.16	16	1.04	

four parts of about 15 grains each. If so, then the specially marked notches were intended for weight values of about: no. 6 = 90 gr., no. 12 = 180 gr., and no. 16 = 240 gr. The table shows agreement for no. 6 and no. 12, and gives 238 gr. for no. 16, which is near enough for rough workmanship.

The values for no. 6 and no. 12, in conjunction with the average notch difference of 15 grains, suggest the weight values of Arabic gold and silver coins, and the lead weight of 360.16 gr., marked with four vertical strokes, also indicates that it represented four units of about 90 grains.

Gold and silver coins of the Arabic Empire had the widest circulation in the period A.D. 800–900, being found as far north as the Baltic and as far west as England, where even the local coinage imitated their designs. The Arabic coins were of good quality and were issued against standard weights of glass of which large numbers have been weighed and catalogued both by the British Museum (Stanley Lane-Poole, 1891) and Sir Flinders Petrie (*Glass Stamps and Weights*, 1926). As the majority of the glass weights bear Arabic inscriptions and have been accurately dated, the weights of the coinage at any given period are known. For the period A.D. 800–900 the average values as given by the standard coin weights made of glass are:

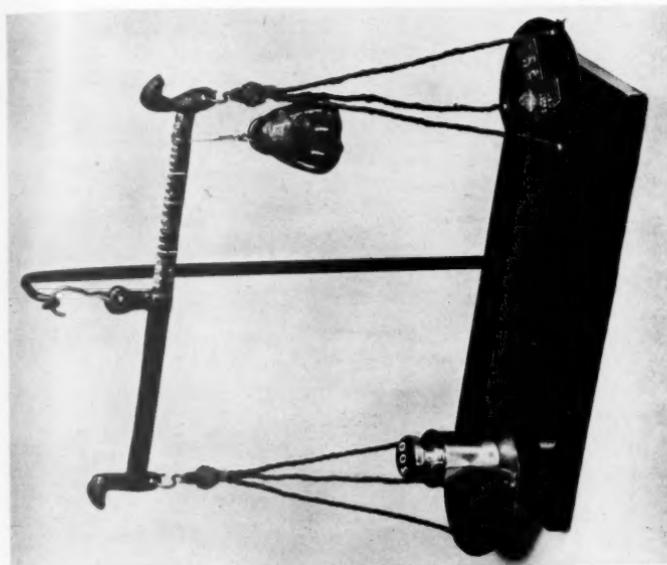
The Gold Dinar, 64.5 to 64.9 gr.

"	$\frac{1}{2}$	"	33 gr. nearly
"	$\frac{1}{3}$	"	22 "
"	$\frac{1}{4}$	"	15 to 16 gr.

The Silver Double Dirhem, 88 to 92 gr.

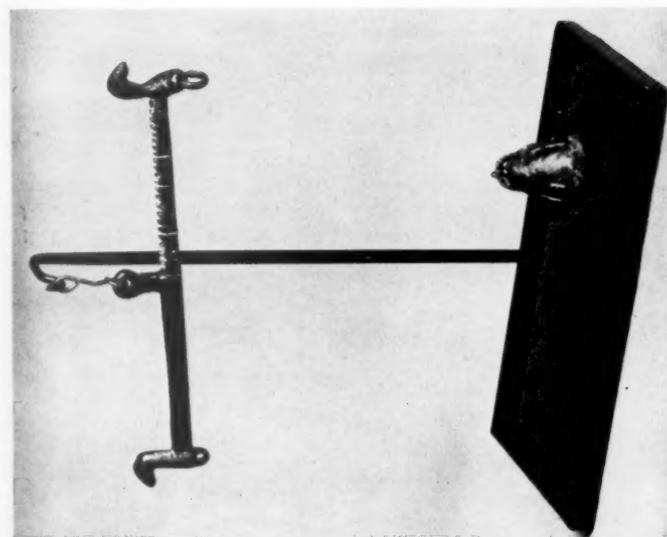
"	Single	"	44 to 46 gr.
"	$\frac{1}{2}$	"	22 to 23 gr.

With reference to the table, the average difference per notch of 15 gr. would represent the Quarter Gold Dinar; notch no. 1 (22 gr.) would weigh both the One-third Gold Dinar and the Silver Half-Dirhem. Notch no. 3 (45 gr.) would weigh the Silver Dirhem, and no. 6 the Silver Double Dirhem which was the most generally used silver coin; no. 12 (180 gr.) = 2 Double Dirhems, and the lead weight (360 gr.) used as a weight in the pan would weigh 4 Double Dirhems (it is marked 4). Notches nos. 2 (29 gr.) and 4 (62 gr.) would give low values for the Gold Half-Dinar, and Dinar, respectively. Notch 16 (238 gr.), one of the specially marked notches, would give a slightly low value for the Arabic Half-Wukiyeh or half-ounce (of 240 gr. average value), the probable forerunner of its later counterpart in the Troy system of western Europe and more particularly England,



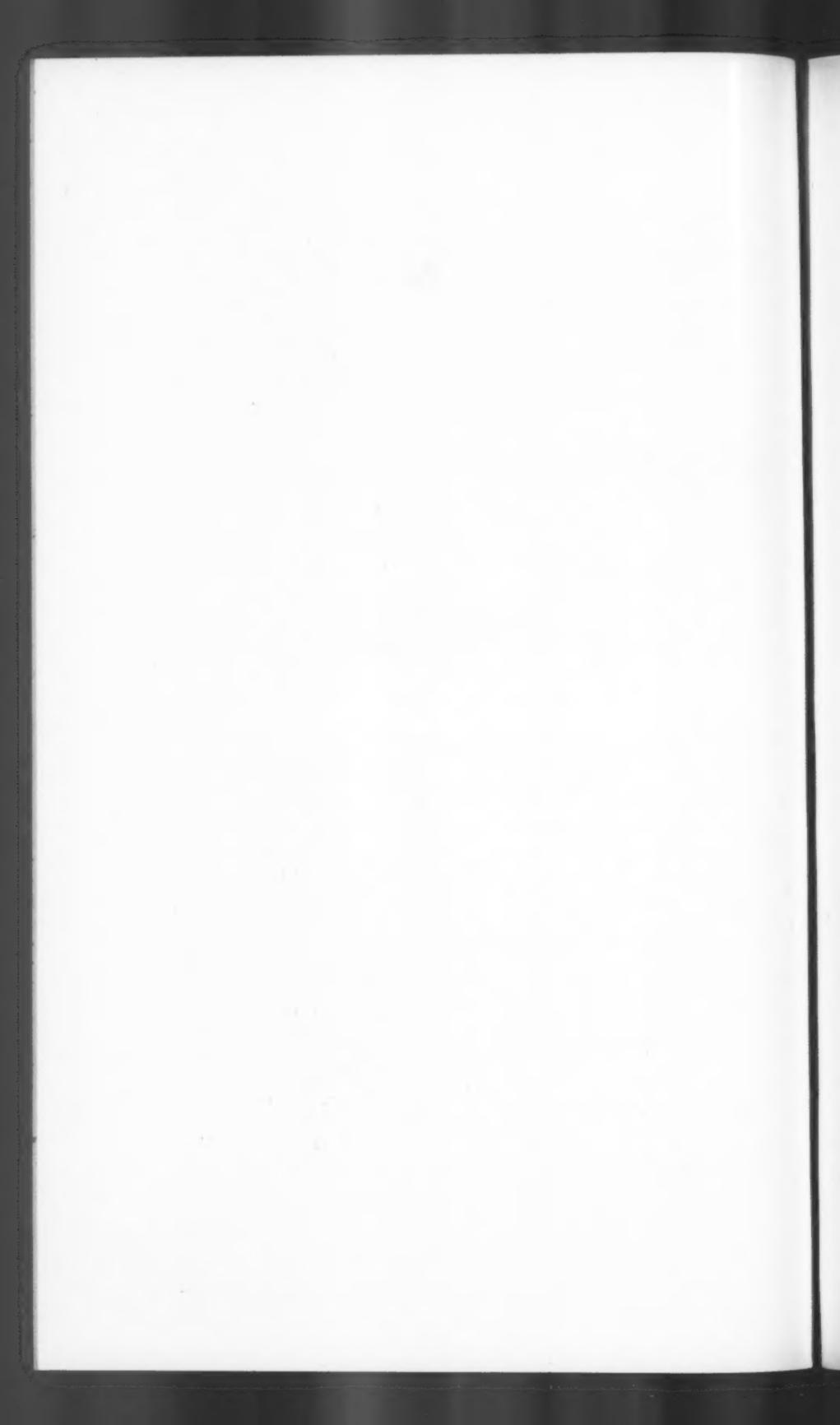
2. The beam fitted with temporary pans and lead weight slung as a 'rider'

Ronaldsway bronze balance-beam and lead weight, c. 8th-9th cent. A.D. ($\frac{2}{3}$)



1. The beam and lead weight, chalked to show up the markings

Ronaldsway bronze balance-beam and lead weight, c. 8th-9th cent. A.D. ($\frac{2}{3}$)



which would appear to have been derived from a Wukiyeh of 10 Dirhems of 48 grains (nearly), and of which 12 Wukiyeh made the lesser Arabic Rotl of 5,763 grains.

Finally, it should be observed that the Anglo-Saxon King Offa of Mercia (A.D. 757-96) introduced the new English silver penny or 'sterling' which weighed 22·5 grains—the average of the Arabic Silver Half-Dirhem of the same period—and which remained unchanged in weight until about the fourteenth century. Incidentally Offa, in A.D. 774, also struck a gold coin closely imitating an Arabic Gold Dinar and with his title in Arabic characters. But it was his standard of the silver penny which soon became accepted all over England, and this silver coinage of the penny sterling was soon the only local coinage. To refer again to the table of weight values of this balance, notches 1, 3, 6, 12 correspond to 1, 2, 4, 8 English silver pennies, while the lead weight of 360 gr. corresponds to 16 silver pennies. Considerable numbers of these Anglo-Saxon silver pennies have been found in the Isle of Man.

II

TYPOLOGY OF THE BALANCE, AND THE IMPLICATIONS
OF THE EXPERIMENT

By R. L. S. BRUCE-MITFORD

Miniature weighing balances, similar in size to that from Ronaldsway, are of common occurrence in Viking graves. Typical examples are figured by O. Rygh, *Norske Oldsager*, 1885, fig. 476; by A. W. Brøgger, *Ertog og Øre*, 1921, figs. 4, 6a, 9; in the British Museum *Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, p. 162, fig. 214; and by Coffey and Armstrong, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 1909-10, xxviii, 118. Rygh quotes thirty-one finds in all, and many more must have been discovered since 1885. Miniature balances are also found in pagan Saxon graves in England, notably in Kent, but only rarely. No balances, or even weights, appear to have been recorded in native Irish or Celtic contexts of the pre-Viking period, nor in any purely Celtic context within the Viking period.

Almost all the Viking balances described in the sources mentioned above are of one type.

The characteristics are, from a technical point of view, the pin-f fulcrum and forked suspension-piece at the centre of the beam, which Mr. Skinner has referred to above. From a morphological point of view, the type is slender and delicate, and designed to fold up and fit into a case. The beam is of rounded section,

tapers to the extremities, and is generally decorated with groups of small mouldings at the ends, before the suspension-rings, and sometimes with designs of engraved lines (as in the example figured by Coffey and Armstrong, and in Brøgger, fig. 4). Viking balances were not, however, invariably made to fold, one of the four published by Coffey and Armstrong and some of those quoted by Rygh being cast in one piece.

The Saxon balances found at Long Wittenham, Berks.,¹ and at Sarre,² Gilton,³ and Ozingell⁴ in Kent similarly have the feature of the pin-fulcrum and forked suspension-piece, and are similarly slender constructions with tapering beam, but in no case made to fold.

The Ronaldsway balance is of a totally different type.

It is first, as Mr. Skinner has said, a hole-suspension balance. This is an early, technically more clumsy type, common in Roman Britain,⁵ but, it would seem, generally superseded in the Roman Empire by the more accurate pin-fulcrum type in the fourth century, and it does not recur amongst the Viking or Saxon balances quoted. Secondly, it combines the principles of the steelyard with that of the equal-armed balance by using a travelling weight on the beam, a device in common use in Roman Britain, but so far as we know unknown to the Saxons or Vikings, as indeed was the principle of the Roman steelyard in any form.

Thirdly, the beam of the Ronaldsway balance differs from the standard Viking and Saxon types in being of stout polygonal section, without decorative mouldings, and, unlike the majority of Viking balances, not made to fold; and in the prominent zoomorphic finials which stand on the ends of the beam.

The balance thus differs emphatically from the known Saxon and Viking types, and appears rather to be a direct descendant from, or survival of, a common Romano-British balance type in use up to the fourth century, although it differs from Romano-British examples in respect of the finials and in points of form.

¹ *Arch.* xxxviii, 1859, p. 344.

² Grave 26. *Arch. Cantiana*, vi, 1866, 161; Baldwin Brown, *Saxon Art and Industry in the Pagan Periods*, pp. 417-18, pl. xcvi.

³ Grave 66. Bryan Fausset, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, 1856, p. 22, pl. 17, 1, 2, and 3.

⁴ Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, iii, 1855, pl. iv, and pp. 1 sqq. Scales were also found in a Saxon grave in the cemetery at Wheatley, Oxon., by Mr. Leeds: *P.S.A.* xxix (1916), p. 56, but the beam was not preserved. Mr. Leeds there quotes the scales published by Douglas in *Nenia Britannica*, p. 51, pl. xii, figs. 8-9; but only a fragment of the beam and fulcrum survives of this too.

⁵ e.g. *Catalogue of the Guildhall Museum*, p. 36, no. 1, pl. xxiii, 8; R. E. M. Wheeler, *London in Roman Times* (London Museum Catalogues, no. 3), p. 85, fig. 22, 2; etc.

Although it is not possible to quote any native Irish or Celtic weights or balances with which the Ronaldsway finds may be compared, there is ample background in Irish art for the zoomorphic finials which decorate the beam. The idea of the zoomorphic decoration of opposing terminals was established in the penannular brooch series. Small animal heads in the round occur on the Tara brooch, which, it is now generally agreed, was made in the eighth century, perhaps towards its end.¹ A closer parallel is provided by the escutcheon-hooks of the hanging-bowls. In his report on the Ballinderry crannog, Dr. Hencken figures a bowl from Hoprekstadt, Norway,² one of those plundered hanging-bowls of Irish manufacture found in Viking graves of the end of the eighth and the early ninth centuries, which is the probable period of the Ronaldsway balance. In this bowl the escutcheons themselves are shaped like birds, and the necks and heads of these birds, which form the escutcheon-hooks, are not unlike the finials on the Ronaldsway balance. All these considerations suggest that the balance is a product of the native Celtic inhabitants, a conclusion which agrees with the connexion thought by the excavator to exist between it and a disturbed grave of c. A.D. 800, that is, before the Viking settlement in Mann.

The results of Mr. Skinner's experiment must also be examined. A striking agreement has been shown to exist between the weight values of the notches, including those specially marked, and the value of the rider itself, and the standard weights of Arabic gold and silver coins of the same period. Had the balance been made in Sweden in the ninth or tenth century, its construction or adaptation for the purpose of weighing Arabic coins would be intelligible, for Arabic silver coins, at any rate, of this period are found in Sweden in vast numbers. But the Ronaldsway balance has every appearance of having been locally made, and Arabic coins, both gold and silver, are only of the rarest occurrence in England, and must be almost unknown in the neighbourhood of the Isle of Man, at any rate before the period of Viking settlement. From an historical and numismatic point of view, it is unlikely that a locally made balance should have been constructed or adapted (since the notches were apparently added as an afterthought to what was originally an ordinary equal-armed balance) by a process which upset the equilibrium of the beam and must have involved a readjustment of the weight of the pans, specially for the purpose of weighing coins which, as far

¹ Hencken, 'Cahercommaun, a stone fort in County Clare', *Roy. Soc. Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1938, extra vol., p. 29.

² *P.R.I.A.*, xliv, sect. C, no. 5 (1936), fig. 47 δ (p. 205).

as is known, occur only with the greatest rarity or not at all in the area. The notch-values are, in fact, capable of other explanations.

The view that the balance was adapted to weigh Saxon pennies against a standard of 22·5 grains to the penny agrees better with the historical background of the balance, and Saxon pennies are found in Mann. Although a standard of 22·5 grains has been given for the Saxon penny,¹ such standards can be deduced only by weighing extant pennies, and hardly any of the pennies of Offa listed in the *British Museum Catalogue of Saxon Coins*, even those in the best condition, weigh as much as 20 grains. On the other hand, the pennies of Coenwulf of Mercia (796–822) are rather heavier, and in some instances reach a weight of 22·5 grains, and at the end of the century the pennies of Alfred are sometimes as heavy as 25·5 grains and average about 23. The suggestion that the balance was used to weigh Saxon pennies against this standard, or rather that the beam had been adapted for this purpose, is not unreasonable. There are other factors, however, which do not fit with this view. If the beam was intended to weigh pennies up to sixteen, to which number the lead weight corresponds, and if the values of 1, 2, 4, and 8 pennies are accurately given, one might expect this progression to be continued, with further marks at special points in the series. Nor does this view explain the special prominence given to notch 16, the four marks on the lead weight, or the choice of a progression of 15 grains per notch, when a progression of 22·5 grains per notch would have been more suitable for the purpose of weighing pennies, and as easy to achieve.

Both the suggested interpretations of the notch-values just discussed assume that the balance, or at least the beam-notches and rider part of it, was designed for the purpose of checking the actual weight of coins against their standard weights, and that the three notches specially accentuated were intended to mark the standard coin-weights most frequently used. This may be so, but the beam may also have been used to weigh small objects and coins, not in terms of standard coin-values, but as bullion, in terms of a weight system, and the notch-values must also be considered from this point of view.

The weight of 360 grains is marked with four cuts, and this suggests that it represents four lesser units, which would each be 90 grains. With this two of the specially marked notches (6 and 12) agree; they give exactly the weights 90 and 180 grains, and mark the $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the lead weight. To this system the special marking of notch 16 is eccentric; it does not mark

¹ *7th Annual Report of the Warden of the Standards*, 1873, p. 30.

the third of the four units of 90 into which the lead weight is divided, and apparently indicates another and subsidiary system. It gives an actual value of 238 grains, but Mr. Skinner has shown that the value aimed at by the craftsman (on the basis of a progression of 15 grains per notch) was 240 grains. But it is also exactly the half-ounce Troy. The special marking of this Troy value, especially when it lies eccentrically to the main system of the beam, must surely have been deliberate.

Now Mr. Reginald Smith has shown that the Troy pound, 5,760 grains, was in use amongst the Saxons¹ or, more strictly, in Kent, since finds of marked weights are, or were at the time when he wrote, confined to that county. From the marked Kentish weights Mr. Smith also deduced a smaller unit of 48 grains, or 3·15 grammes, corresponding to a decimal subdivision of the Troy ounce of 480 grains. Notch 16 would represent five of these units. It should also be noted that notch 8 gives exactly the $\frac{1}{4}$ ounce Troy, and notch 4 is actually 2 grains over the $\frac{1}{8}$ ounce, but if an exact progression of 15 grains per notch had been achieved, it would have given this weight exactly. These notches are not specially marked, and their correspondence to the Troy system may be accidental, since there are many superficial correspondences with different weight systems in this series of notch-values, and multiples of different units can easily be found in it. The special marking of the half-ounce Troy, however, seems to be something definite; but although the beam thus shows a subsidiary recognition of the Troy system, the main system behind the notches, and the special marking of notches 6 and 12, cannot be explained in terms of the Troy system or of Anglo-Saxon units of 48 grains.

The Viking weight system was as follows: 1 mark = 8 ører = 24 ertogar = 240 penninger,² the average value of the old Norse øre being 26·8 grammes, or 413 grains. The øre seems to have declined in value, however, to 24 or even 22 grammes in late Viking times.³ Taking the value of 413 grains (one of the Islandbridge weights gives an øre value of 412 grains), the corresponding ertog value of 137·7, and the 2 ertogar value of 275, are only given approximately by the balance, and are not specially marked; nor does the weight of the rider or the special marks on the beam in any way correspond to these values. It is true that the rider weight might pass for a debased øre of later Viking

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* iii, 122 sqq. (1923).

² *British Museum Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, 161.

³ Reginald Smith, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1921, and *Antiq. Journ.* i, 352 (quoting Brøgger).

times, since it weighs 23·33 grammes, and that the corresponding $\frac{1}{2}$'s, or ertogar equivalents, are given by notches 8 and 16; but if the lead weight were in fact intended for an øre it should bear not four but three cuts (1 øre = 3 ertogar), and if notches 8 and 16 on the arm were intended to give the ertogar values, one would expect no. 8, giving the ertog value, as well as no. 16 to have been specially marked, since in late Viking times the ertog was more important than the øre.¹ Further, the assumption that the lead rider weight is intended for a debased øre provides no explanation for the fact that notches 6 and 12 are specially marked, and, in short, the notch and rider system is not capable of explanation in terms of Viking weights.

If the balance is, as it is suggested, a product of the native Celtic population, one might expect the notch-values, the weight of the rider, and the cuts on it, to be arranged according to a Celtic weight system. Sir William Ridgeway in his *Origin of Currency and Weight Standards* (1892), Appendix C, p. 395, gives the Irish weight system according to the Brehon Laws.

This is derived from the Roman system, even in its terminology,² and has an 'unga' (uncia) or ounce of 576 wheat grains divided into 24 'screapalls' or scruples, as in the Roman ounce. The grains referred to so far, in the readings of the balance, are the Troy or barley grains; 24 of these are equal to 32 wheat grains.³ To express the values of the rider weight and notches in wheat grains, the rider = 480 grains and the specially marked notches give no. 6: 120, no. 12: 240, no. 16, an intended value of 320, but actually a little less. It is true that notches 6 and 12 and the rider thus give the values of 5, 10, and 20 scruples respectively, but this does not represent an equal subdivision of the ounce, and there seems no reason to think that this correspondence to scruple values is more than accidental. The normal subdivision would give 6, 12, and 18 scruples. The same considerations would apply to the full Roman ounce, and to the earlier Roman ounce of 421 grains.

Although the values given by the Ronaldsway balance thus

¹ Reginald Smith, *loc. cit.*

² Ridgeway, *loc. cit.*; Brøgger, *op. cit.* 77, footnote. The Roman system was 6 siliquae = 1 scrupulum; 24 scrupula = 1 uncia; 12 unciae = 1 libra (*B.M. Guide to Roman Britain*, 38). The siliqua was nearly 3 grains (that is, barley, or Troy grains), the scruple 17½, and the ounce 421. These values, however, appreciated slightly, and according to Ridgeway (*loc. cit.*) the ounce, after the time of the Punic Wars, consisted of 432 grains, and the scruple had risen to 18. According to Ridgeway, this full Roman ounce of 432 grains was 'in full use in Mediaeval Ireland' (*loc. cit.* 404).

³ In metrological theory. In fact the correspondence is only approximate.

show no convincing agreement with the Celtic weight system as given in the Brehon Laws, there may still, however, have been other systems in use amongst the Celtic population as well. Ridgeway's mention of the 'Crosog' indicates such another system in the background: the Ronaldsway beam itself suggests that Troy values were known and used, and Mr. Reginald Smith has pointed out a relationship between the Irish-decorated weights found with the Viking burials at Islandbridge¹ and the Saxon system of units of 3·15 grammes.

The system as given by the Brehon Laws was thus clearly not the only system in use at this period, and it is a system in any case unsupported by any archaeological evidence—so far at least as the pre-medieval period is concerned. It is in fact to the Ronaldsway balance, if it is a Celtic product, that one has to turn for the first archaeological evidence for the weight systems in use amongst the Celtic population. The division of the rider weight into four units and twenty-four smaller parts, described above, which seems to be the main system behind the rider weight and the notch-values, may represent such another Celtic system, and may be interpreted as implying the use amongst the Celtic inhabitants of a reduced Roman ounce of 360 grains, based on a reduced scruple of 15 grains and subdivided into four units of 90. The division of the rider into twenty-four parts suggests that this was regarded as an ounce, since both the Roman ounce and the Irish ounce of the Brehon Laws are made up of twenty-four units (scruples). The unit of 90 grains would consist of 6 scruples. This suggestion provides a complete explanation of the rider apparatus, the eccentric notch 16 being regarded as a concession to the Troy system, and I put it forward as the first suggestion as to the weight system used by the christianized Celtic peoples in the west to be based on strictly archaeological evidence.

To sum up this discussion of the relation of the notch and rider values to what is known of the relevant weight systems, it is clear that there is no connexion with the Viking system, nor can the notch-values be satisfactorily explained in terms of the Roman system, or of the Irish system as given in the Brehon Laws. The Troy system also does not provide a complete explanation.

The notch-values, however, taken in conjunction with the weight of the rider and its four cuts, themselves suggest the use of the following system:

$$1 \text{ oz. (360 grains)} = 4 \text{ units of 90 grains}$$

$$1 \text{ unit (90 grains)} = 6 \text{ scruples of 15 grains, or if, as suggested}$$

¹ *Loc. cit.* 126.

by the Breton Laws, the system was based on wheat and not barley grains,

1 oz. (480 gr.) = 4 units of 120 gr.; 1 unit (120 gr.) = 6 scruples of 20 gr.

This system can be readily explained as based on a debased Roman ounce of 24 scruples, and as being derived ultimately, like the rider system and the balance type, from Romano-British sources. The balance also appears to take into account the Troy system; which was in use amongst the Saxons, the $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. or 5 Saxon units being specially marked.

This evidence agrees with the view adopted on typological grounds that the balance is a product of the native Celtic population, free from Viking influence, and also suggests that it shows contact with the Saxon weight system. If the beam was also designed to check the weights of Saxon pennies, this would be a further illustration of commercial intercourse with the Saxon Kingdoms.

Although English steelyard weights are known from the thirteenth century onwards, no example of a steelyard, or of any instrument employing the principle of the steelyard by the use of the rider mechanism, appears to exist which can be dated between the Roman period and the time of Gresham's steelyard, in the London Museum, that is to say, the Elizabethan period.¹ The Ronaldsway balance, which employs the steelyard principle, appears to be the only extant example of an instrument showing the steelyard principle in use at any time during this period of over a thousand years.

ADDENDUM

It has been said above that it is not possible to quote any unexceptionably Celtic weights or balances of this epoch. A pair of scales was found in a crannog at Loughtamend, co. Antrim,² but the crannog was never adequately published, and the scales were not described. The date, as well as the type, of this pair of scales is therefore uncertain, as many crannogs continued to be occupied throughout the medieval period. There is, however, another possible candidate.

A balance-beam, of the pin-fulcrum and forked suspension-piece type, was found, together with pans and decorated weights, in the Viking ship-burial, attributed to the early tenth century, at Kilmoran Bay, Colonsay.³

¹ There are in the Science Museum, South Kensington, however, two Arab steelyards of giant proportions which date from the early medieval period. They are of iron, and the numbers are inlaid in silver.

² Robert Munro, *Lake-Dwellings of Europe*, 393, footnote; *P.R.I.A.* vii, 1859, 155.

³ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xli, 1906-7, 443 and fig. 9.

This balance-beam is not of the usual folding type and is larger than the typical balances found in Viking burials. It is $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. long,¹ the limbs of the fork-suspension-piece are broad and rather heavily made, and the tongue or indicator, which moves between the arms of the suspension-piece to indicate any deviation of the beam from the horizontal, terminates in a trefoil or roughly cruciform motive, such as has been found, e.g., on a bronze pin from Ireland (in the British Museum, 1936, 10-6, 1). The balance approaches much more closely to Romano-British types than to Viking ones. The weights found with it, moreover, were decorated in a wholly Irish style. Dr. Shetelig² remarked on the burial, which differed in many respects from the typical Norwegian grave, as illustrating the subjection of the Norsemen to influences from the art and industry of Ireland, and says: 'All the objects are not properly Norwegian: the scales and the balance were probably not made in Norway.' There can be little doubt that this balance, like the decoration of the weights that accompanied it, is of Irish origin, although it offers no points of comparison with the Ronaldsway balance except its apparent descent from a Romano-British prototype.

In view of the apparent recognition of the Troy system in the Ronaldsway balance it is interesting to recall that in 1923 Reginald Smith pointed out that the weights found in this Colonsay burial, as well as the Islandbridge weights which also have Irish decoration, are rough, and in some cases exact, multiples of the Anglo-Saxon unit of 3·15 grammes,³ and that the Grove Ferry weight, an Anglo-Saxon weight of 576 grains illustrating the decimal division of the Troy pound amongst the Saxons, is represented in both these sets. It is true that the correspondence is only approximate in many cases, but allowance must be made for the worn condition of some of the weights. Mr. Smith, in pointing out this fact, said that it might be thought rash to apply the standards deduced from the Kentish weights to weights found in remote parts, or even to weights found outside the Kingdom of Kent. If the Ronaldsway balance does in fact show a recognition of the Troy system, as it appears to do, this system might equally well have reached Ireland. The evidence of the Ronaldsway balance, then, adds to the view that the correspondence between the Islandbridge and Colonsay weights and the Saxon system was not accidental.

Brøgger has taken pains to repudiate the suggestion that these and other weights with Irish decoration represent an Irish weight system which was adopted by the Vikings.⁴ The fact that these weights are deposited with scales (in the case of the Islandbridge weights, with four pairs of scales of undoubtedly Viking manufacture) indicates that they were not regarded as mere ornaments, but kept their significance as weights, and were used as such by the Vikings. Brøgger objected that their weight values did not

¹ The length of the beam is given in the report, p. 444, as $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. Mr. R. B. K. Stevenson of the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, where the objects from this burial are deposited on loan, tells me that this is incorrect. The length of the beam is $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.

² *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, v, 172; quoted in *P.S.A.S.* xli, *loc. cit.*

³ *Antiq. Journ.* iii, 126.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 77, footnote.

agree with the Irish system. It may be true that they do not agree with the Irish system as given in Ridgeway's book, which, apparently, was his source of information, but this does not prove that they were not based on another Irish system. The Ronaldsway balance suggests that other systems were in use, and, what is more, that the Troy system, used by the Saxons, to which these weights show some correspondence, was one of these. These weights may therefore still be held to indicate the use by the Vikings of a weight system derived from Irish sources, even though this may have previously been derived by the Irish themselves from the Saxons.

III

CONCLUSION

By F. G. SKINNER

Mr. Bruce-Mitford in his interesting commentary has raised several questions. While accepting his opinion as to the Celtic origin of this balance-beam (i.e. before the notches were cut), I am unable to accept his conclusion. This small beam is much too unreliable as a piece of evidence upon which to erect the super-structure of a hitherto unknown ancient Irish system of weights. In the first place he appears to consider that my mechanical experiment with the beam and lead weight provides a 'cast-iron' proof of their former association. Of course it does nothing of the sort. Any weight used as a rider on the beam would give readings proportionate to its own mass and position along the beam of the same general order as these. All the experiment does is to suggest a reasonable probability of association.

Then in his Irish system he postulates a minimum weight of 15 grains, but the experiment showed a deliberate start at 22 grains for notch 1. By his system notch 24 should have given 360 grains, but instead we have 342 grains. And the column of 'Differences per notch' shows how very inaccurate the apparent divisions of 15 grains were, suggesting a quite amateurish hand that cut the notches. Granting the Celtic origin of the beam, it does not necessarily follow that the notches, cut later, were for Irish weights; they suggest rather that they served the personal requirements of an individual who had probably travelled, had seen similar Romano-British serrated beams, and who attempted, not very successfully, to imitate them on this beam. Three of the notches satisfied the owner's principal requirements, and these he marked definitely.

No doubt there was in Ireland an older system of weights than that of the Brehon Laws—more than one probably—but for this I can only refer briefly now to Sir Flinders Petrie's

analysis of the weights of ancient Irish goldwork at the Royal Irish Academy, given in his *Ancient Weights and Measures*, 1926, pp. 46-7.

The suggestion that weighing bullion might have been the real purpose of this balance is really only a distinction without a difference, for what is coinage but bullion put up in conveniently small and definite amounts for trade purposes? With so limited a coinage larger payments were always made in bullion which was weighed, a practice which continued for centuries later. And as to why a 360-grain lead weight should have been used, the practical reply is that it is just about the limit of capacity for so small a balance, whose pans could not have exceeded 1½ in. diameter.

But in saying that the experimental readings suggest the values of Arabic coins and weights, I am trying to point out the Arabic influence (both then and for centuries after) on the European coinage and weight standards. An empire that stretched from Northern India through Persia, Arabia, Egypt, all along North Africa and into Spain, having under its control all the principal gold and silver mines from which Europe then drew its supplies, and which incidentally had reopened and energetically worked the silver mines in Spain formerly neglected by the Visigoths, was bound to exert such an influence, especially as it already had well established coinage and weight standards of its own.

So that, from the pure aspect of weighing, it would have been a matter of comparative indifference with this balance whether a coin was a Saxon penny or an Arabic half-dirhem, or whether a weight was a Saxon ounce or an Arabic wukiyeh, since the respective standards were the same. The Kentish Saxon weights published by Mr. Reginald Smith and mentioned by Mr. Bruce-Mitford are definitely on the Arabic system in which the lesser Rotl of 5,763 grains was divided into 12 Wukiyeh of about 480 grains; the latter into 10 Dirhems of 48 grains, and the Dirhem into 16 Kirat of 3 grains—the origin of European 'Carat' weights. But the lesser Rotl was also subdivided decimalily on Greek drachma lines, giving a first division of about 576 grains, which again agrees with Mr. Reginald Smith's Grove Ferry Anglo-Saxon unit. But this was not the Troy system of division, which though based on the same standard, arose much later and in which the ounce of 480 grains was divided into 20 pennyweights. Troy weight is first mentioned in the English Statutes of the Realm when it was legalized in 1496 (Henry VII). Here let me point out that in the Arabic Empire there were 'Dirhem' silver coins and 'Dirhem' weights, but the standards were not

the same, although the weights were used for weighing precious metals.

Mr. Bruce-Mitford has also questioned the standard of 22·5 grains for the new English silver penny introduced by King Offa of Mercia. One authority for this has been quoted. Here is another, by Mr. George C. Brooke, M.A., formerly of the British Museum Department of Coins and Medals, in his book *English Coins* published 1932. On p. 14 he says of Offa's reign, 'There are therefore two distinct changes in the coinage, . . . secondly a coinage of new weight, 22½ grains or 240 to the pound Tower which can be given an approximate date by the death of Jaenberht in 790/1.' The name 'Tower Pound' also known as 'Moneyer's Pound' arose later, but the silver penny was continued at this standard until the fourteenth century. The silver penny was equated to 32 wheat grains 'taken from the middle of the ear' and dried. Several samples of English wheat were weighed, after careful drying, at the Standards Department of the Board of Trade in 1873. The average weight for 32 wheat grains was found to be 22 Troy grains, but after drying beyond natural means the average fell to 20·7 grains. And it was this Pound Tower of 240 silver pennies each of 22·5 grains weight, the same as the Arabic silver half-dirhem, making a silver pound of 5,400 grains, which was superseded by the Troy Pound in England in 1496, and abolished in 1527, but whose standard continued in Europe as the famous Marc of Cologne and as the Marc of Hamburg (1 grain lighter) both used as mint standards.



A beaker from Ware (2)



Notes

A Beaker from Ware.—Mr. T. D. Kendrick, F.S.A., sends the following note: The pottery beaker illustrated in the accompanying photograph (pl. XVI) was found about 1933 in a gravel pit on the Watton Road at Ware, Herts., so far as is known without any accompanying objects, in a field belonging to Mr. A. C. Medcalf, of Downfield, Ware, and I am indebted to him for permission to record the existence of this vessel. It measures 5·8 in. in height and is made of a dark gritty ware, not noticeably mixed with shell, that has a very bright yellowish-red surface, and a good smooth finish. It is of the derived and latish 'A' form having an inturned rim, a tall vertical neck, and a prominent bulging body, rather unevenly modelled. The base is flat. The ornament consists of a zone of cross-hatching on the lip, a deep zone on the neck containing a panel system of lozenges and vertical bars above a continuous zigzag band, both reserved against a horizontally hatched ground; and a zone of cross-hatching above the shoulder, and another below it, this last zone resting upon the vertically scored walls of the base. Except for these strokes on the base the entire ornament is carried out by rouletted lines. The British Museum has a beaker from Suffolk (Abercromby 46) that is of the same style, and the type in general can be associated, as has been done by Mr. Leeds (*Oxonienzia*, iii, 1938, 7) with a movement of 'A' beaker-people approaching the Oxford district from Suffolk and the Wash.

Medieval tripod pitchers.—Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford contributes the following: Nearly 100 examples of the type of pitcher illustrated in this note have been identified to date. Of these, over 40 have been found in Oxford. The type is described and discussed in detail in *Oxonienzia*, iv, 1939,¹ and there assigned to the twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries.

There are other types of medieval pottery vessel with three legs, in particular a group of pitchers confined as far as is known at present to London, perhaps all the product of a single potter or pottery.² This note,

¹ 'The Archaeology of the Bodleian Library Extension', p. 115 sqq. The type is characterized by all or most of the following features: thin yellow glaze, corded or heavily slashed strap handle, tubular spout strapped against the neck, applied or incised decoration in monochrome, and a general adherence to the shape shown in figs. 2 and 3, especially as regards the form of the neck and the position of the feet, which are in general set slightly in from the basal angle.

² Examples of these London tripod pitchers are in the London, Guildhall, Bank of England, and British Museums. Although they are large and baggy, these vessels differ from the West Country type in details of form, especially as regards spout, neck, and handle. They differ also in their elaborate style of applied and incised polychrome decoration. There are no grounds for inferring any connexion between the two groups, which have mutually exclusive distributions and appear to belong to different periods. The London vessels date perhaps from the late thirteenth or the fourteenth century.

however, deals only with the type described in *Oxoniensia, loc. cit.*, and not with the tripod motive in medieval pottery as such.

Fig. 1 shows that these tripod pitchers have a restricted distribution and

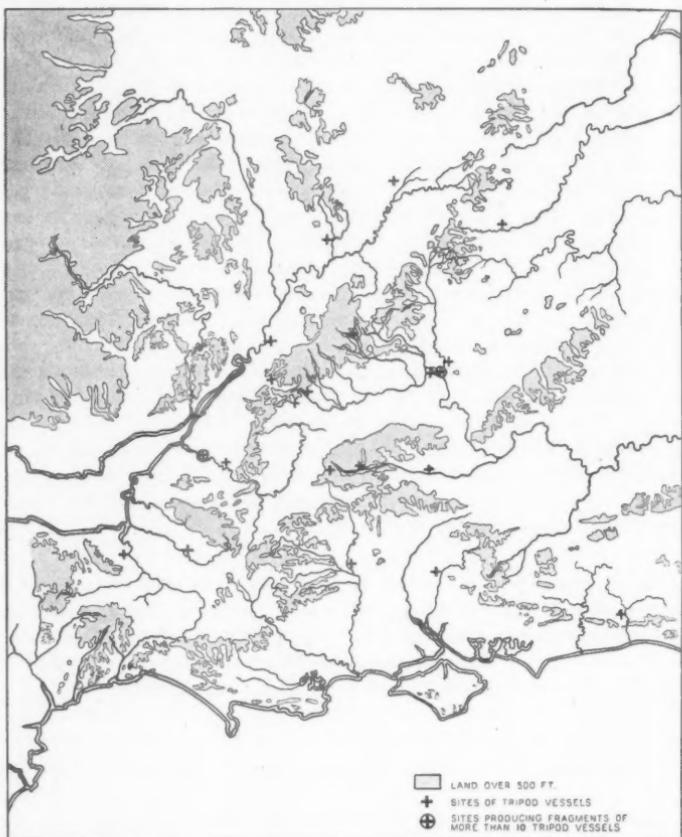


FIG. 1. Distribution of early medieval tripod pitchers of West Country type

are a West Country type, the Bramber example being, at present, a solitary outlier.

As this form of pitcher dominates Oxford pottery in the late twelfth and at the opening of the thirteenth century, the distribution map shows also where the affinities of the Oxford industry at this early period chiefly lie.

The potters who threw these baggy shapes and added three stunted legs were embodying a vigorous, widely rooted West Country tradition. At the same time, there are indications elsewhere that the Oxford potters were

being affected in this same period by influences from another area, namely East Anglia.¹

Distribution maps of individual types of vessel and of distinctive ceramic features, and the publication of more local material, will make it increasingly possible to define the peculiarities of local industries, and thence to trace the spread of medieval ceramic traditions and ideas, a subject which should be of more than strictly archaeological interest, for it may well be that the distribution of ceramic traditions and ideas indicates the inland, no less than the coastal² and overseas³ movements of medieval trade.

The associated group from Hullesey, Gloucestershire, illustrated with this note, is an example from outside the Oxford area⁴ of the association of these tripod vessels with thumb-pressed bases, and confirms the view that this tripod type lasts generally into the thirteenth century, since thumb-pressing the basal angle is not at present known to date back any earlier.

The distribution map is based chiefly on the returns kindly made by curators of provincial museums. I am indebted not only to those who were able to report tripod material but also to those whose replies supplied negative evidence from other areas, which confirms the restricted distribution of the recorded examples. Such negative evidence was received from South Wales, Devon, and Cornwall, from the principal museums in all the counties of southern England, and from the leading northern museums. Mr. W. E. M. Jope, of the Royal Commissions on Historical Monuments of Wales and Monmouthshire, conducted a search for tripod pitchers in Devon and Cornwall, with negative results, and produced also positive evidence from Glastonbury and Marston. Mr. Ian Threlfall, of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, supplied the information from Warwickshire.

The list appended is for the most part a bare tabulation of the material on which the map is based. Unless otherwise stated, where full descriptions are given the material has been handled by the writer; for the rest, salient features and published references are given, or else the material is merely listed.

This tripod pitcher type appears to have a long history, and there are local variations in fabric and in details of form and decoration. There is thus room for further research within the group itself with the object of defining these local variations, especially as regards fabric and decoration, and also of seeing whether any typology can be established within the group. The origins of the type also require elucidation. This note is designed to provide a nucleus of information to facilitate such work. The drawings have been kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A.

¹ *British Museum Quarterly*, xiii, no. 2 (1939), p. 35 *et seq.*

² *Archaeologia*, lxxxiii, 117. See also *Archaeological Journal*, xciv (1937), 133, fig. 2, for a later edition of this map. Mr. Ward Perkins's paper deals also with the distribution of late medieval tiles.

³ *Antiq. Journ.* xvi, 408.

⁴ For examples from Oxford see *Oxoniensis*, iv, fig. 22.

*List of Medieval Tripod Pitchers of West Country Type (by counties)***BERKSHIRE. (Six)**

Newbury. 1. Complete base of tripod pitcher, soft sandy blue-grey ware, fairly thin, with thin sticky-looking greenish-yellow glaze, which has a silvery-black metallic sheen. Base c. 8½ in. in diam. From Pembroke Road, Newbury. Borough Museum, Newbury (*Trans. Newbury and District Field Club*, vii (1936), no. 3, pp. 190-1 and fig. 38).

2. Neck sherd, with tubular spout held by clay strap; sandy, rather gritty, pinkish fabric, containing red grains. The sherd shows no glaze. From the Kennet Valley. Borough Museum, Newbury.

Seacourt, near Wytham (medieval village site). Fragments of at least four tripod vessels (body sherds, foot sherd, two handles) and spout. Ashmolean Museum.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE. (Thirty or more)

Bitton. 1. Base with three legs, diam. c. 8½-9½ in. From the Vicarage Garden. Bristol Museum.

Bristol. 1. Various feet and tubular spout sherds. Bristol Museum.

2. Large group of material from the Pithay district of Bristol, published in *Trans. Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc.* xlvi, 251 *et seq.* This group consists of 7 tubular spouts (*op. cit.* nos. 187-93), 10 feet (*op. cit.* nos. 239-48), 8 neck-and-handle fragments, various body sherds and 5 neck sherds, the whole representing probably at least 15 pitchers. The typical ware is coarse, thick, dark-blue in the fracture, with uneven surfaces, in some cases heavily pitted. Glaze is thin, sticky in appearance, and pale-yellow. Decoration consists of bands of combed or incised lines: handles are bulky and heavily slashed or stabbed, some, however, having a pinched-up clay ribbon down the back (cf. those from Gloucester, figs. 3 and 4). These jugs are larger and coarser than the Oxford type. In the British Museum: part of a collection presented by Mr. J. E. Pritchard, F.S.A., in 1926.

3. One spout sherd, yellow-glazed with clay strap holding the spout. From Welsh Back, Bristol. In the British Museum.

Bourton-on-the-Water. (One)

Foot, of heavy type, as in the Bristol and Gloucester vessels, l. 1 in. Thick laminated granular grey ware with pinkish surfaces, pitted on the inside. Brownish-yellow glaze. In the Corinium Museum, Cirencester.

Cirencester. (Five)

Six feet sherds, 'probably local finds', representing five vessels. In the Corinium Museum.

Gloucester. (Three¹)

1. Fig. 3, h. 15 in., d. of base 11½ in., N.B. pinched lip. Smooth, sandy grey ware, with reddish surfaces. Thin yellowish-green glaze. Handle decorated with thumb-presses down either edge, and applied clay 'tails' at the bottom. Very convex base. Eastgate, 1930. Gloucester Museum.

2. Fig. 4, h. 14 in., d. of base 10 in. Very hard sandy black ware, with buff surfaces. Very thin patchy yellowish-green glaze all over externally. Combed decoration. 'Local.' Gloucester Museum.

3. Base sherd of tripod pitcher, part of an associated group (fig. 2, no. 9). See p. 112 below for description of this sherd and the rest of the group.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A., for the particulars of the material from Gloucester, and to Mr. Chas. Greene, Curator of the Gloucester Museum, for permission to publish the drawings.

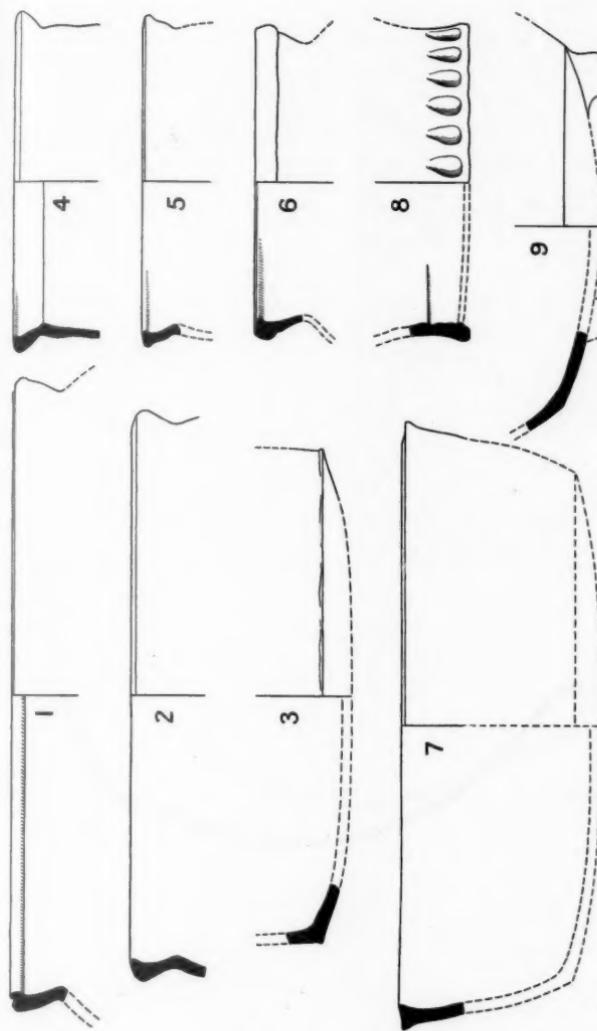


FIG. 2. Associated medieval pottery from Gloucester (4). Showing tripod pitcher sherds in association with a thumb-pressed base and a variety of cooking-pot rims

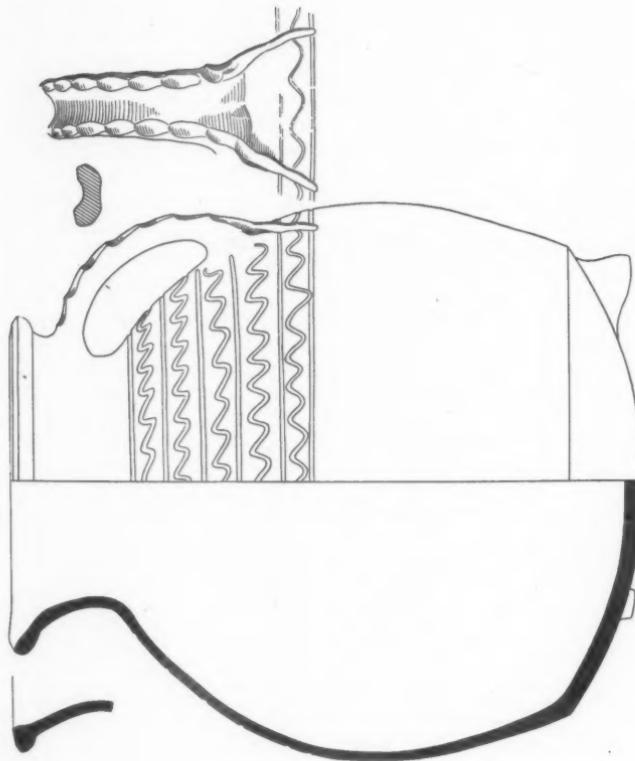


FIG. 3. Medieval tripod pitcher from Eastgate, Gloucester (1)

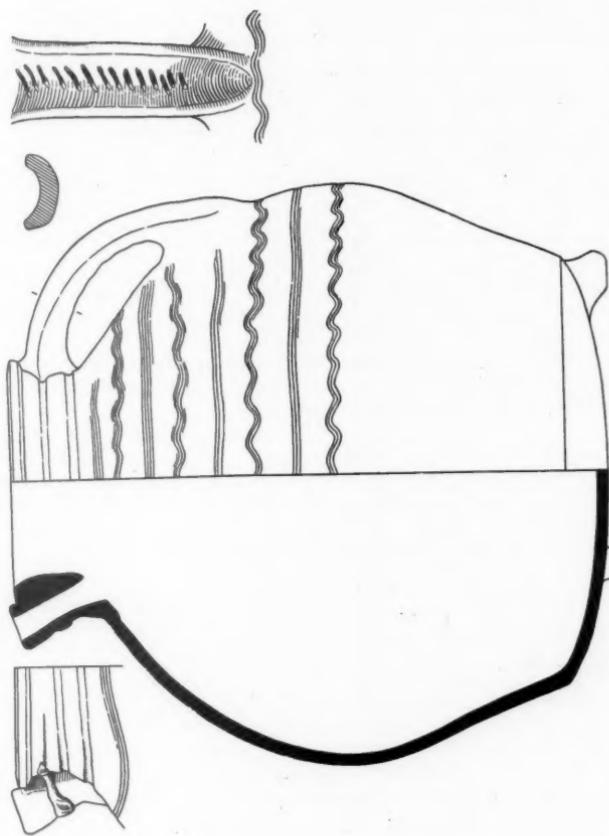


FIG. 4. Medieval tripod pitcher from Gloucester (4)

Hullasey, near Tarleton. (One)

1. Lower portion of tripod pitcher, complete, hard lumpy grey ware interior surface minutely pitted; decomposed greenish-yellow glaze; exterior surface buff. Decorated with groups of straight vertical and wavy horizontal combed lines. Hullasey is an extinct village site, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Tarleton and about 6 miles south-west of Cirencester. In the Cirencester Museum (B. 1418).

Stroud. (One).

Foot sherds, coarse lumpy black ware mixed with crushed white chalk or shell, interior surface rough, exterior surface better smoothed and light-brown in colour. 'From a ploughed field near Stroud', loosely associated with a barbed and socketed iron arrow-head. In the Stroud Museum, Technical College, Stroud.

HAMPSHIRE. (About six)

Winchester. 1. St. Catherine's Hill. Six foot sherds (*Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, xi, p. 239, fig. 27, nos. 104 and 105). A tubular spout (fig. 26, p. 237, no. 86). N.B. also the plait-work handles, nos. 97, 99, fig. 86. In the Winchester Museum.

2. Two neck-and-spout sherds, with tubular spouts held to the neck with clay straps. Also various corded handles, perhaps from tripod pitchers. Local finds. Winchester Museum.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. (One)

Northampton. One base sherd with foot. Hard grey ware, the interior surface red and pitted, the exterior surface a chocolate-brown and showing tears and scratches. The foot is small and the base rather flat. Spots of yellowish-olive glaze. From the site of Northampton Castle. Northampton Museum.

OXFORDSHIRE. (Forty-two or more)

1. *Marston.* One foot sherd, hard sandy grey ware, with blackish surfaces. Spots of yellow glaze. In the possession of Mr. W. E. M. Jope.
2. *Oxford,* including the Bodleian Extension site, 41 or more. Three complete vessels and various fragments representing at least thirty-eight others. In the Ashmolean Museum. See *Oxoniana*, iv, Bodleian Extension Report, for more details.

SOMERSET. (Five or six)

1. *Downend, near Bridgwater.* Neck-and-spout fragment, rather thin ware, thin yellowish-green glaze, combed and applied pinched ribbon decoration. The vessel had originally three small loop-handles at the neck, one survives. Variant spout form (standing away from the rim). For neck form with three loop-handles compare the pitcher from Marlborough below, which has also applied ribbon decoration. Figured in *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological Society*, lv (1909), 169. Taunton Museum.
2. *Glastonbury.* Fragments of four, perhaps five, tripod pitchers. Rather hard gritty ware, pitted surfaces, thin glaze. From the Abbey, and at present in the Abbey Gate-house.

SUSSEX. (One)

1. *Bramber.* One foot sherd, hard light-grey ware with reddish-brown exterior surface. Spots of green glaze. From Bramber Castle. See *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, lviii, 241, *et seq.* for note on the excavations, but no descrip-

tion of the pottery. The general assemblage of associated sherds, which includes heavy strap handles with finger-pressed edges (cf. p. 106, Glos., no. 1, above, and fig. 3) and clay strips down the back pinched up with the fingers, broad heavily slashed handles, and yellow-glazed sherds, suggest a suitable early date and connexion with the West Country group rather than the London group.

WARWICKSHIRE. (Three)

1. *Alcester*. One fragment. From the excavations of Mr. Threlfall on the site of Alcester Priory.
2. *Coventry*. Two pot-sherds, of fine sandy grey ware, one with reddish surfaces and traces of brownish glaze, said to come from the site of Coventry Priory. In private possession.

WILTSHIRE. (Five or more)

1. *Avebury*. Two tripod feet, *a*, from West Kennett Avenue. Grey porous ware; glaze: olive to olive-brown. *b*, From south-west sector. Grey porous ware, buff-washed. Possibly knife-trimmed. No glaze.
2. *Marlborough*. One complete pitcher, large, globular body, three small loop-handles at the neck, decorated with applied clay ribbons. Found with a socketed iron arrow-head on the site of Marlborough Waterworks (*Cat. of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society at Devizes*, pt. II, 2nd edition, 1934, 266-7 and fig. 46, no. M97^a). Devizes Museum.
3. *Old Sarum*.
 1. Complete base of tripod pitcher, sandy buff ware, thin yellow glaze. In possession of His Majesty's Office of Works. See *Antiq. Journ.* xv, 190.
 2. Complete vessel, with pinched lip and repoussé decoration forming vertical lines of bosses. Sandy fabric. Olive glaze. *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xlvi, 268 and pl. vii.
 3. Two spout and two foot sherds. From Norman Cesspits (*Antiq. Journ.* xv (1935), 174 et seq., 189 and 190, fig. 5, nos. 29 and 30). Salisbury, South Wilts. and Blackmore Museum, Salisbury.

Note on the associated group from Gloucester (p. 105 above). The pottery fragments illustrated in fig. 2, nos. 1-9, were all found at the bottom of the foundation trench dug to receive the South East Angle-Tower of the medieval walls of Gloucester, which was uncovered in 1932. The pottery is in the Gloucester Museum. A brief note recording the discovery of medieval pottery in this trench appeared in *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, liii, 283.

1. Hard grey-brown ware with crushed stone; brownish-grey surface; beaded rim, folded over to the outside.
2. Hard coarse ware, with crushed stone, light-brown underneath grey surfaces.
3. Hard coarse grey ware with crushed stone, brownish-grey surface.
4. Hard coarse grey ware with crushed stone and soft white shell; surface grey, close-textured, with buff tinge.
5. Close-grained grey ware with crushed stone and quartz grains, grey surfaces.
6. Hard grey ware with crushed quartz. Red surfaces inside and out. Rim of square section slightly bevelled on the lip externally. Fabric and shape approach types at Lydney Castle, *Antiq. Journ.* xi, 255, esp. fig. 7, no. 14 (c. A.D. 1140).
7. Hard coarse grey ware with crushed stone; grey surfaces with light-red patches. Rim bevelled on the outside. Rim-section very similar to that of a dish with sagging base which was used to cover a large handled jug, found in the Churchyard at Tid-

combe, Wilts., now in the Devizes Museum, *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xxx, 59; *Cat. of Devizes Museum*, II, 130, pl. xviii, 4. Probably thirteenth century.

8. Pitcher base, thumbed, fine sandy grey ware, buff surfaces, light-green glaze.

9. Foot sherd of tripod pitcher. Fine hard grey ware with finely crushed soft white grit (chalk?). Evenly covered with light-green glaze.

The Alabaster Altar-piece at Santiago.—Dr. W. L. Hildburgh, F.S.A., sends the following note: Some years ago I described (*Antiq. Journ.* vi, 1926, 304 seqq.) an English alabaster altar-piece, depicting scenes from the story of St. James, presented to the great Cathedral of St. James at Compostela by an English parish priest, by name presumably John Goodyear and probably from Chale, in the Isle of Wight. I have since found a record, left us by another English pilgrim who was in Santiago on the very day—the 25th of May 1456—whereon was made the gift above mentioned, which, although unhappily for us it does not in any way refer to that gift, appears to be of some interest in the matter.

On the 30th of April, in the year 1456, one William Wey, a fellow of Eton College, *en route* for the famous shrine at Compostela, arrived at Plymouth; and therefrom he sailed, on 17th May, in the *Mary Whyte* (*Marywhyte*) of that port. Of his pilgrimage he has left us a brief account (printed, in 1857, from the original manuscript in the Bodleian Library, together with his accounts of his two pilgrimages to the Holy Land, by the Roxburghe Club, under the title of *The Itineraries of William Wey*¹) which gives us some few glimpses of his actual journey. The *Mary Whyte* was accompanied by five other English ships (one of Portsmouth, one of Bristol, one of Weymouth, one of Lymington, and one of a port unspecified) to the port of 'Grwne' (Corunna), where they all cast anchor on 21st May. Wey and his fellow pilgrims appear to have left there almost at once, since he informs us that he arrived in Santiago on the eve of Holy Trinity, i.e. on 22nd May. We may suppose him to have left Santiago on the 26th, for he tells us that he sailed from Corunna on the 28th, after a stay there of three days—presumably the 26th, 27th, and 28th—in which case he could, I think, have started from Santiago well on in the 26th and arrived in Corunna the same day.² On 27th May, Corpus Christi, he took part in a procession in the Church of the Friars Minor, which was followed by a sermon by an English Bachelor of Sacred Theology on the text 'Ecce ego, vocasti enim me', in respect of which the English present could truly say, to St. James, 'Ecce ego, vocasti me, scilicet per Dei gratiam ut huc venirem et locum tuum visitarem'. It seems extremely probable, therefore, that he was in Santiago when his compatriot, the pious rector 'Johanes Gudguar', gave to the Cathedral, out of reverence for the very holy Apostle 'Sebedeu' and for the

¹ The account of the pilgrimage to Compostela and of matters associated therewith is given, in Latin, on pp. 153–61; and a condensation thereof, in English, on p. xvii seq.

² Doubtless, for the comfort of the many pilgrims who had to pass over it, the road was at least a fairly good one. Ford, writing about the middle of the nineteenth century, says (cf. Richard Ford, Murray's *Handbook for Spain*, 3rd ed., London, 1855, p. 600) that in his day the diligence took from six to seven hours between Corunna and Santiago.

benefit of his sins, the fine reredos still preserved there. It is tempting to think—though, indeed, we seem to have no evidence, for or against, in the matter—that that reredos voyaged in one of the ships that left Plymouth with the *Mary Whyte*; we are entitled to do so, for if pilgrims from those ships were in Santiago on 22nd May, it would appear probable that the reredos, readily transportable in sections which were easy to assemble, could (unless unduly delayed at Corunna) by the 25th have been conveyed to the Cathedral, and quite possibly even had its separate parts set together.

It would be tempting, too, to think that Wey may himself have been present at the legal formalities—whereof we have an amusingly candid record—associated with the rector's gift, and that the omission of the matter from his diary was due to his regarding the matter of too little importance to be set down among the various imposing ceremonies he witnessed at Santiago. There were, however, at that particular moment, so many English pilgrims in Santiago that we should be stretching too far the chance of coincidence were we to do more than mention the possibility that he could have been present. Annually, in the middle third of the fifteenth century, Compostela, then one of the favourite pilgrimage-places of Christendom, and by sea comparatively easy of access from England, was visited by great numbers of English pilgrims. And in late May of 1456 it would appear that, for some reason I have not yet fathomed, the English had an especially notable place in Santiago's religious life.¹ The season of the year, after the winter gales over the Bay of Biscay had blown themselves out and before the heat of summer had added to the discomforts of the little pilgrim-carrying ships, might indeed to some extent account for the large proportion of English vessels—thirty-two, of which doubtless a goodly number bore pilgrims, out of a total of eighty-four—at Corunna when the *Mary Whyte* was there; but a normal seasonal influx of English pilgrims seems hardly sufficient reason for the ministerial question, on Trinity Sunday before the procession antecedent to the Mass in the Cathedral, whether any English gentlemen were present, and with the answer that there were, the choice of six² of these, 'before those of all other nations', to carry the canopy over Christ's Body, and this just at the time that the devout English priest singled out for his generous gift.

An English medieval pendant.—Dr. Philip Nelson, F.S.A., sends the following note: Jewels of the medieval period, with the exception of finger-rings, are decidedly uncommon, pendants being certainly the rarest objects. The pendant illustrated herewith consists of a pictorial gold plaque, encased in a silver frame and is of a type, which so far as I am aware, has not hitherto been recorded. The plain, heart-shaped, silver frame, which is 2½ in. in

¹ I suggest, as a possible reason for such distinction—though one for which I have no authorization whatsoever save the coincidence in dates—that it was in some way associated with special ceremonies (of which, however, I have not found any mention in the records I have consulted) at Santiago on 26th May, the day on which the Roman Church commemorates St. Augustine of Canterbury, one of the two (St. Gregory the Great was the other) 'Apostles of the English'.

² Of whom four were named, respectively, Austile, Gale, Lile, and Fulford; cf. p. 154.



English medieval pendant

the opening years of the fourteenth century. The pearl, *Margarita*, may suggest the name of the original recipient.

The late Mr. Rushforth's gift to the Society.—Dr. W. L. Hildburgh writes to point out that the subject of the Italian picture (*Antiq. Journ.* xviii, pl. LXIV), presented to the Society by our Fellow the late Mr. G. McNeil Rushforth, and identified (*ibid.* 409) by Mr. Bernard Berenson as 'The Redemption through the merits of the Blessed Virgin', appears to parallel that of the presumably unique English alabaster table in the minster church at Emmerich (see illustration¹). The carving shows, in the place of Christ on the Cross, God the Father holding the Crucified Son, a subject—to be distinguished from, although often confused with, the Trinity—which, as has elsewhere been observed,² when accompanied by little souls held by the Father, seems to have been intended to symbolize 'the redemption of mankind through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the Son of God'.



Alabaster table from Emmerich

¹ *Archaeologia*, lxxiv (1925), pl. XLVI, and P. Clemen's *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, ii, 'Kreis Rees'.

² *Folk-Lore*, xliv (1933), 56.

The discoveries at Sutton Hoo, Suffolk.—Mr. T. D. Kendrick, F.S.A., communicates the following: The most remarkable archaeological discovery ever made in England took place in the summer of this year when our Fellow Mr. C. W. Phillips excavated the Sutton Hoo ship-burial and brought to light the resplendent series of gold and silver treasures that attracted so much interest in the weeks preceding the outbreak of war. The site is the largest of a group of barrows on a heath overlooking the River Deben near Woodbridge and it is situated on the Sutton Hoo property of Mrs. E. M. Pretty. Two barrows had been excavated in the previous year at Mrs. Pretty's request by Mr. Basil Brown and Mr. Guy Maynard of the Ipswich Museum, and it was these gentlemen who began the excavations of this year. The discovery of the ship, however, showed that the 1939 excavation was one of formidable possibilities, and those in charge very prudently invoked the help of the British Museum, the Science Museum, and the Office of Works before the investigation was continued under the direction of Mr. Phillips. During the course of the subsequent excavation Mr. Phillips was assisted by Mr. Stuart Piggott, F.S.A., and Mrs. Piggott, Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, F.S.A., and Mr. W. F. Grimes, F.S.A. Lieut.-Commander J. K. D. Hutchison of the Science Museum was responsible for the uncovering and survey of the ship, and Dr. H. J. Plenderleith of the British Museum acted as scientific adviser. The ship is a vessel 84 feet long, a rowing-boat of the type of the Nydam ship. Midships there was a roofed burial-chamber, and in this was discovered the grave-furniture of an Anglo-Saxon royal personage who reigned in the early seventh century (perhaps Redwald, High King of England). The finds are of the greatest archaeological interest, and include, besides the magnificent treasure of jewelled gold ornaments and silver vessels, a shield and a helmet, enamelled hanging-bowls of bronze, a giant ceremonial whetstone with carved masks, silver-mounted drinking-horns and gourd-bottles, and also a pottery bottle, leather-work, textiles, and wooden utensils and ironwork. The treasure of gold and silver was the subject of an Inquest and found to be not Treasure Trove, and the property of Mrs. Pretty. This very generous and public-spirited lady subsequently presented it, together with all the associated finds, to the British Museum, and an illustrated article on this acquisition, perhaps the most magnificent gift that the Museum has ever received, will be published in the December issue of the *British Museum Quarterly*. A comprehensive illustrated account of the discovery is also to appear in the March number of *Antiquity* and a detailed excavation-report is now being prepared by Mr. Phillips for our own Journal; but with regard to the finds themselves, it is necessary to point out that the outbreak of war and the consequent necessity of removing them to safe places (some without having been cleaned and adequately investigated) make it at present impossible to publish them properly. Some time, therefore, must elapse before we can appreciate the full archaeological significance of this wonderful discovery; but any progress that can now be made under the present difficult conditions will be reported in this Journal.

The Marnian pottery and La Tène I brooch from Worth, Kent.—Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes, F.S.A., communicates the following note: It will be

remembered that in 1925 our late Fellow Mr. W. G. Klein excavated the site of a Romano-Celtic temple at Worth, near Sandwich, East Kent, and published the results in this Journal, viii, 76–86, with a commentary on the finds by Mr. Reginald Smith. The particular interest of the excavation was the discovery underneath the remains of the temple of abundant occupation-material of the pre-Roman Iron Age, including the votive bronze shield-models, one complete (*ibid.*, 80, fig. 11), the evidence of which for the pre-Roman sanctity of a Romano-British temple-site has now been joined—and transcended—by the recent remarkable discoveries at Frilford in Berkshire (*Oxoniensia*, iv (1939), 1 *seqq.*). If the analogy of Frilford holds good, any actual religious structure of pre-Roman times should be looked for adjoining, rather than immediately beneath the Roman temple, and in fact Mr. Klein found no trace of anything of the kind there. However, the large series of pottery that he did find beneath the temple is sufficient to document not only an intensive Belgic occupation in the first centuries A.D. and B.C. (presumably the period of the shield-models), but previous habitation going back to an early stage of Iron Age A. Mr. Klein's unremitting labours at Richborough and his sudden death prevented any further work on this material for some years, but in May 1938 the owner of the site, Mr. F. J. Durban, generously presented the whole yield of the excavations to the British Museum, and re-examination of it at once showed the interest, in the light especially of what has been opened up in Iron Age archaeology since he wrote, of the various points to which Mr. Smith drew attention in his published commentary. Fresh publication of the earlier A material may still be postponed with advantage, in deference anyhow to our expectations of the Richborough pottery of that period, while of the Belgic wares it need only here be remarked that they correspond closely to what has come to light at the neighbouring East Kent sites of Broadstairs (Dumpton Gap),¹ Walmer (Mill Hill),² and Margate,³ representing the domestic pottery of the Iron Age C culture best known from the sepulchral material of Aylesford and Swarling.⁴

But between these two periods, in the phase answering to the end of La Tène I and La Tène II on the Continent, there falls a group of pottery at Worth typified by a piece which Mr. Smith recognized, with its angular shoulder 8 inches across, slightly in-curved neck, and fine 'soapy' surface, as recalling the well-known carinated vases of the contemporary Marne culture of northern France.⁵ And it now seems desirable to bring this group into connexion with the analogous pieces from Park Brow in Sussex⁶ of which Mr. Smith made the same observation, for the latter, taken together with material from Findon Park near by⁷ and that of the 'Wealden culture' lately identified (in a rather later stage) at Oldbury Camp, Ightham,⁸ has been

¹ *Archaeologia*, lxi, 427 *seqq.*; Jessup, *Arch. of Kent*, 131, 135, 147–8.

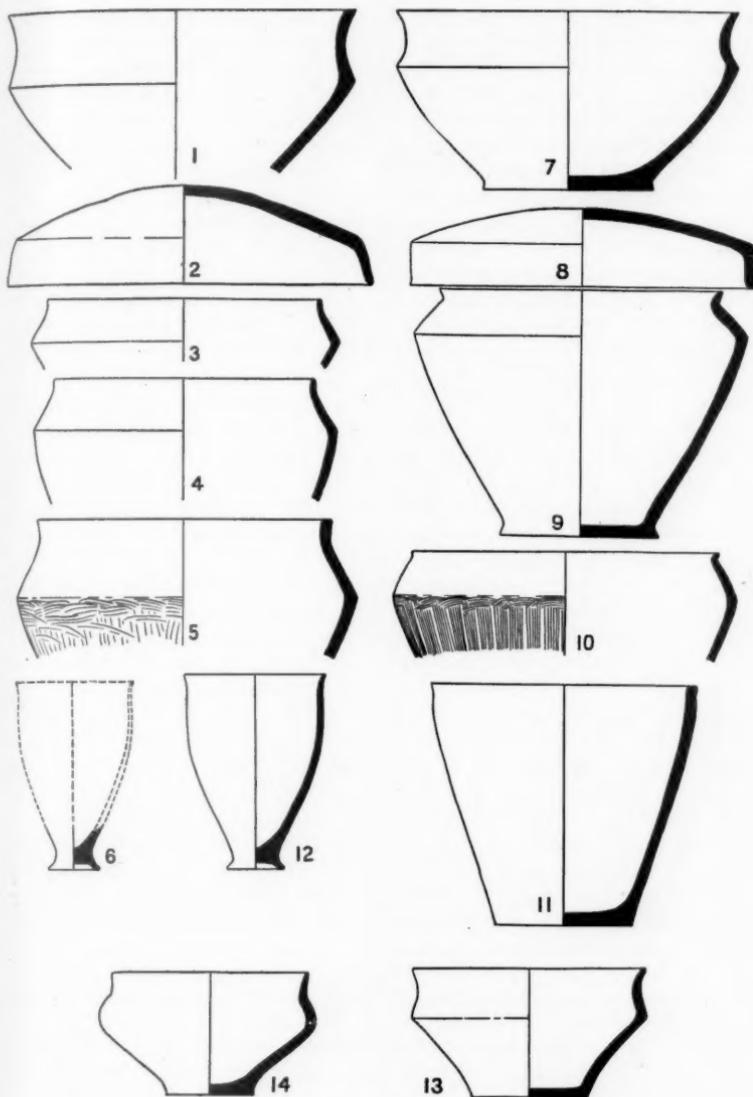
² *Arch. Cant.* xxvi, 9 *seqq.*; *Antiq. Journ.* x, 166–7. ³ Jessup, *op. cit.* 132, 134.

⁴ *Arch. Journ.* lxxxvii, 240 *seqq.*, esp. 255. ⁵ *Antiq. Journ.* viii, 84.

⁶ *Antiq. Journ.* iv, 352–3, fig. 3 (with fig. 9); *Archaeologia*, lxvi, 19–21.

⁷ *Antiq. Journ.* viii, 453–8.

⁸ Prof. Ward Perkins's excavations are to be published in the forthcoming number of *Archaeologia Cantiana*.



FIGS. 1-6. Pottery from Worth, Kent (1925 excavations)

FIGS. 7-13. Pottery from Dépt. Marne, France (Morel Collection)

FIG. 14. Pottery vase from barrow, Risby, Suffolk. (All $\frac{1}{4}$)

claimed by the present writer¹ to represent a branch of the invading movement of the middle third century B.C. which brought to the Yorkshire Wolds the famous chariot-burial folk, identifiable as the Parisii of the same North French culture-region; and so opened the British Iron Age B.

A certain diffident silence has been usual in recent years concerning the route by which the latter reached the East Riding, for though not every one was really content to suppose that they sailed all the way round from the mouth of the Seine by sea, it was feared that there was no archaeological material which one could associate with any initial landings in the south of England. But surely these identifications by Mr. Smith supply precisely that deficiency. While, therefore, the full discussion of the matter as regards Sussex need not be reproduced here in view of its almost simultaneously forthcoming publication, it seems worth while illustrating a selection of the relevant Worth pottery together with corresponding types of the Marne culture taken from the Morel Collection in the British Museum.² Comparison between these two sets of drawings (figs. 1-6 and 7-12) makes verbal description almost superfluous: fig. 1 is the piece chosen by Mr. Smith for special mention as noticed above, and fig. 2 is one of the covers or lids noted on p. 83 of his article; the 'comb'-roughening evinced by fig. 5 is a frequent Marnian characteristic (fig. 10), bequeathed thence to the potters of the subsequent Belgic invasion; and the whole range of carinated profiles is uniformly consistent with the date about the turn of the La Tène I and II periods around 250 B.C. which is proposed for the first landings of the invaders. Particular interest attaches to fig. 6, an unmistakable fragment of one of the distinctive Marnian goblets (cf. fig. 12), and very possibly not a local rendering, but an actual imported representative of the type. It may be added that the typologically earlier members of the series of pedestal bases figured by Mr. Smith (his fig. 15, pp. 83-4) would seem, like those of Park Brow and Findon Park,³ to stand for a convention introduced at this time, and only later overtaken by the Swarling-Aylesford types of the Belgic invasion, while on his pl. xxi the sherd *d*, with its incised ornament (described p. 84), may be singled out as of unmistakably Marnian character;⁴ and Marnian influence on the native A tradition of coarse pottery may be clearly seen in the type of *b* on the same plate and of fig. 12 (p. 82), described on pp. 84 and 81 respectively, the combination of a beadrim with such a carinated shoulder being a Marne feature unparalleled in the pure A wares of Britain.⁵

¹ In a paper on the pottery from the Caburn, near Lewes, and its implications, read before the Society on 9 March 1939 in conjunction with Dr. E. Cecil Curwen, F.S.A. This is to appear in full in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. lxxx.

² The same method has been employed in republishing the Park Brow pieces in the forthcoming Caburn paper.

³ Cf. with Mr. Smith's fig. 15, *a-e*, the bases *Arch. lxxvi*, 19, fig. 10 A-B (Park Brow) and *Antiq. Journ.* viii, 455-6, figs. 7*d* and 8*b* (Findon Park).

⁴ Cf. Morel, *La Champagne Souterraine*, album, pl. 41, no. 22: the incisions were perhaps, as there, filled with colouring matter.

⁵ Cf. Morel, *ibid.*, pl. 4, nos. 4, 12; pl. 5, no. 6; pl. 20, one from right in central group, and middle bottom; pl. 41, 17.

Lastly it may be noted that the cupped type of pottery spindle-whorl, figured by Mr. Smith from Worth in fig. 16 (p. 85) of his paper and also from Park Brow in *Arch.* lxxvi, 11, fig. H (described p. 19), has not only Hallstatt but La Tène parallels abroad, among which the Marne culture duly provides its quota.¹ Some of this Marne-like pottery is recorded, on a manuscript label kept with it, to have been found all together in one of the holes or pits (pl. xix of Mr. Klein's paper) beneath the later NE. temple wall, so that typology is not entirely unsupported by association-evidence: in short, the Worth site may now be put forward as representing three successive pre-Roman periods, the first Iron Age A and the third Belgic or Iron Age C, with an intermediate period marked by an invasion from a Continental region of La Tène civilization either belonging or closely related to the Marne culture. This invasion should be a branch of that responsible for the initial groups of Iron Age B. One may probably assign to the same context the two remarkable vessels from Deal, given to the British Museum in 1914 by Mr. Hazzledine Warren: their technique of incised ornament is just like that of the Worth piece above noticed, and Mr. Smith, in his publications of them in *Proceedings* xxvi, 128–33, gives a number of Continental comparisons, among which several figured from the Marne may perhaps date from the same period, around the middle of the third century B.C.

The Sussex representatives of the movement have been mentioned, with reference to their publication elsewhere; there are others from Wessex, briefly referred to in the same publication, which merit separate treatment in the near future (see also p. 120, n. 2). But we may here add the small vase (fig. 14) found in a barrow at Risby in Suffolk and given to the British Museum by Canon Greenwell: this, as fig. 13 shows, seems likewise to be a Marne derivative, and was mentioned as such by Mr. Rainbird Clarke in his recent paper to the Royal Archaeological Institute on 'The Iron Age in Norfolk and Suffolk', in the published version of which the question of Iron Age B in East Anglia will be found discussed.²

It remains to consider whether any of the Worth finds other than pottery may not have some bearing on the matter, and this is perhaps a good opportunity to figure the bronze La Tène I brooch from the site, mentioned by Mr. Smith on p. 85 of his paper. He comments on its small size, its relatively large spring-coils, and its well-arched bow. Though what remains is well preserved, with a good grey-green patina, the whole of the foot and half of the pin are unfortunately missing: the original length must have been about 1·2 inches, if the foot is restored as here suggested, and the correctness of this may be judged from the selection figured in Sir Cyril Fox's well-known paper on the type.³ If it is approved, then the brooch will belong to his Phase A (cf. his fig. 7, list no. 22, Wood Eaton), though a more slanting restoration of the foot would warrant its transference to Phase B (cf. his fig. 18A, list no. 20, also Wood Eaton), for the humped-up bow, the simple

¹ Cf. Morel, *ibid.* pl. 32, nos. 6 and 8.

² I have to thank Mr. Clarke for allowing me to read this in typescript; it is hoped that it will appear in the *Archaeological Journal* during 1940.

³ *Arch. Camb.* June 1927, 67–112.

incised ornament, and the large spring-coils have analogies in both. Actually, it is perhaps allowable to doubt whether the distinction has any great validity in Britain; even on the Swiss Plateau, where Viollier first worked out the sequence of A, B, and C phases for the La Tène I brooch,¹ grave-finds show a certain chronological overlapping between the three types, and as the typological progression probably moved at rather different rates in different districts of the Celtic world, it is only too likely that a migratory movement such as issued in our first Iron Age B invasion would bring with it a somewhat mixed assortment of La Tène I brooch-forms.



Bronze La Tène I brooch, Worth,
Kent (J.)

Certainly the 'latest thing', just before and about the middle of the third century B.C., was C (cf. Fox's fig. 19^a and b, list nos. 25, 26, Wallingford, both obviously Continental imports; and figs. 20 and 21, list nos. 67, 66, Findon Park and Swallowcliffe, both from sites producing pottery related to that here published from Worth).² But the only classic La Tène I brooch found in a grave of the Yorkshire Iron Age B culture, at Cowlam,³ is typologically A, and in its bow and coils not at all unlike our example from Worth. Yet no one will suggest that on that account the Cowlam grave-group or any part of the Yorkshire material should be thrust back to Viollier's date for the A brooch-phase, viz. 450–400 B.C.! Probably brooches of all three phases may have entered the country together, after which further development took place as more brooches began to be made over here. And this line of thought suggests that the La Tène I brooch, which admittedly lasted in Britain until very late, may have been completely unknown here before the first Iron Age B invasions, and only brought in by them!⁴ If so, it would be possible, with a little weeding of marginal specimens, to use the La Tène I brooch-map to give us the missing pattern of the invaders' distribution. After all, the assumption that these brooches were already in use in Britain in Iron Age A 1 really only depends on the presence of two examples at All Cannings Cross;⁵ yet it is surely beyond question that the occupation of that site lasted until after the end of the third century B.C., so that the brooches need not have arrived there any earlier than the period of the first Iron Age B invasions about the middle of that century.⁶ Similarly, this little brooch from

¹ D. Viollier, *Les Sépultures du Second Âge du Fer sur le Plateau Suisse* (1916).

² Findon Park: *Arch.* lxvi, 11, fig. c (brooch) found in same pit as the two pots (21) figs. 11–12. Swallowcliffe: *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xliii, 82, pl. xi, c. 36 (brooch); pottery, e.g. 71, pl. iv, 4, 6 (cf. from Fifield Bavant, *ibid.* xlii, 477, pl. vii, 1–4). The glass beads from Swallowcliffe (xliii, 30–1, pl. vii, F 1–4) require the same context.

³ Fox's list no. 34; Greenwell, *British Barrows*, 209, fig. 111; Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements*, 400, fig. 498.

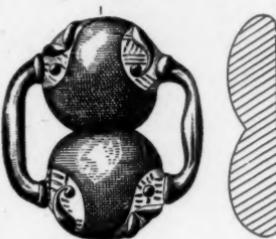
⁴ This is in any case certainly true of Scotland: Childe, *Antiq. Journ.* xi, 281–2; *Prehistory of Scotland*, 231, 236.

⁵ Fox's list nos. 58–9; Cunnington, *All Cannings Cross*, pl. xviii, figs. 12–13.

⁶ This dating is discussed in the Caburn paper referred to above (p. 118, n. 1).

Worth may quite possibly have arrived no earlier than that either, and be, like the site's Marnian pot-forms, an actual introduction of the invaders. One can at all events suggest that any one undertaking a fresh study of La Tène I brooches might make one of his objectives the testing of this mildly revolutionary theory.

A Celtic Bronze from Bury Hill Camp, near Andover, Hants.—Excavations were conducted in July and August 1938 for the Hampshire Field Club at Bury Hill Camp by Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes, who with the concurrence of the Club submits this note on the most interesting piece of Celtic metalwork found. The Camp consists of two rings of earthwork (cf. Crawford and Keiller, *Wessex from the Air*, pl. xia), the outer, now proved to date from Iron Age A 2, consisting of a single rampart and ditch; the inner, of two ramparts with single ditch between them, associated with La Tène II pottery of the local equivalent of Iron Age B. An intensive Belgic occupation had followed the latter, lasting some decades into Roman times, and it was in the soil which throughout these later phases had accumulated against the back of the original A 2 rampart, where it crosses a steeply inclined gully on the ENE. of the hill, that the decorated bronze object here figured was brought to light. A full discussion of its features will be embodied in the excavation-report to be published in the Hampshire Field Club's *Proceedings* in 1940, but it seems desirable to bring it to the notice of readers of the Journal at once on account of its artistic quality. It consists of two low dome-shaped lobes, cast solid, with on either side a loop for the thongs of a belt or the like, one of which is noticeably more worn than the other. The loops terminate in rather vaguely formed simple mouldings against the curved sides of the lobes; otherwise the ornament is confined to the latter, and is achieved by means of shallow sunk fields so paired as to give the true surface of each lobe between them the form of a tongue in false relief, running in a right-handed curve against either end of the object. The fields thus answer in shape to their diagonal opposites, and this cross-correspondence is maintained in the relief-ornament which each contains, the two motives used being a leaf-like shape curving round to end in a small attached boss, and a pair of such shapes, meeting one another at an angle, with a detached boss free in the unoccupied part of the field. These relief-motives are set off by a very shallow tooling of the fields in 'basket-pattern', and it is the collocation of relief-ornament with that device which gives this small piece its main interest in the repertory of the Celtic art of the immediately pre-Roman phases of the British Iron Age.



Celtic Bronze object, Bury Hill
Camp, Andover, Hants (1)

Bronze key-ring from an unusual Roman burial at Pineham, Whitfield, Kent.—The following note is also submitted by Mr. Hawkes, from information supplied by Messrs. F. Knocker and A. C. and F. W. McToldridge. In

March 1918 what was apparently a Roman sepulchral deposit was brought to light about 50 yards east of the Dover-Richborough Roman road, in the second field north of the hamlet of Pineham, in the parish of Whitfield and about 200 yards south of its boundary with West Langdon, Kent: this is approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Dover (6-in. O.S. Kent LXVIII NW.). The deposit consisted of three pots of brown ware, placed each one inside the other, about 18 inches to two feet deep in the ground; inside the innermost were the bones of a human hand, together with the bronze key-ring here illustrated. At the same time an ornamental bronze bracelet is said to have been found, but its relation to the rest of the find is not clear, and the ring is the only relic of the discovery now extant: it was presented in 1938 by Mr. A. C. McDoldridge to the Dover Corporation Museum. It is of a regular Roman type not infrequent in this country



Bronze key-ring from Roman burial, Pineham, Whitfield, Kent (nearly $\frac{1}{2}$)

(e.g. *B.M. Guide to . . . Roman Britain*, fig. 46), and is in fair condition, untouched by any action of fire, so that it cannot well be supposed to have been on the hand of a cremated corpse, but rather on a severed hand inhumed, in a modest form of ceremonial burial by itself. Parallels are not immediately forthcoming, and this account is published as a minor contribution to any future study of the peculiarities of funerary usage in Roman Britain.

Excavations at Ffridd Faldwyn Camp, Montgomery, 1939. Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, F.S.A., sends the following note: Owing to the complexity of the structural evidence found, the work was almost confined to the vicinity of the southern entrance of the inner camp, and the elucidation of the problems of the outer camp must be left for a later occasion.

The chronology of this entrance was confirmed and modified as follows:

Period I, Neolithic. The stratum underlying the later defensive works everywhere except in the actual roadway of the entrance was a hard clayey layer, which yielded many flints, including two finished implements, and numerous small potsherds, which Mr. W. F. Grimes has diagnosed as Neolithic. There is no evidence that any defence was built at this time, and the site, which is the first such discovered in central Wales, is analogous to the Flintshire open settlements at Gwaenysgor and Dyserth.

Period II. In this period the first defence of the hill was erected. It comprised a double palisade, of which the holes for the main posts in two parallel rows were discovered. They were dug through the Neolithic stratum. It is unlikely that a ditch was dug at this time, for there is no trace of an earthen rampart. There were two gates at the entrance, for traces were found of three pairs of large round post-holes, set at the inner ends of the inturned arms of the palisade. The hut floors, which were noted here in 1937, probably existed at this time, but no datable objects have been found in association with them.

Period III. The defences were much enlarged in this period. The inner rampart consisted of a stony core with a roughly built front retaining wall and an addition in front of a large earthen rampart reinforced by means of horizontal and vertical timbers. This rampart has been considerably burnt and in places was vitrified. In front of the rampart was a single ditch like a truncated V in section, which became largely filled with silt and debris during a period of disuse after the rampart had been burnt. The gate in this period rested on posts in oblong holes which were described in last year's interim report. The second and third ramparts and ditches of the inner camp, which were noted in 1937, doubtless belong also to this period.

Period IV. It is probable that this period corresponds with the first constructional period of the outer camp, since only on this assumption can its peculiarity be explained. The inner rampart was left in a half-ruined condition, but a new ditch was dug between it and the older ditch. In places the new excavation cut through the filling of the older ditch and the material freshly dug was thrown outwards, where it formed a very low rampart. There is some evidence which suggests that the gate was remodelled and still in use, but this system cannot have been really defensive, and it seems logical to suggest that the inner camp at this time was merely used as a grazing-ground for animals within the larger area, which was defended by the ramparts of the outer camp. Peculiar series of post-holes within the entrance can hardly be explained except as the site of pens for domestic animals.

Nearly 150 post-holes have been found during the three seasons, but finds have been very meagre except in the Neolithic stratum. Nevertheless, there cannot be any doubt that all the periods after period I are of pre-Roman Iron Age date.

It is now proposed to prepare a full report of the whole excavation for publication as soon as possible, probably in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*.

Obituary

Oswald Barron, 1868–1939: Oswald Barron, a Fellow of this Society since 1901, died, to the sincere grief of his many friends, on 24th September at the age of 71. It is hard for one who was his intimate friend for more than thirty-five years to know where to begin to write something about that rare personality and his work. He was so many-sided. The facets of his mental polyhedron were so sparkling; his zest for life was so vivid. He flung himself with such relish into whatever he had to do. And he was so sure of himself that his self-confidence was an inspiration to those on whom it impinged.

Of his home life this is not the place to speak. No more need be said of his adored home than that it was crammed from floor to roof with books and countless little treasures, full of happy memories of travel, sure symbols of the art of collecting with discrimination. But of the man himself one may be allowed to speak freely.

He had a genius for friendship. Few Fellows had, I suppose, so large a circle of acquaintances; not many had in so full a measure the gift of gathering and of returning loyal friendship. He was curiously reticent in some regards; but when once his confidence and his friendship were given they never wavered: they were yours for life.

Barron was a great talker. He loved talking; and he always had something interesting to say. One did not always agree with him; but he delighted in argument and his talk was always inspiriting and suggestive. His mind was so alert that even when, towards the end, ill health laid a constraining hand on his activities, his interest in people and things never forsook him; and he bore his disabilities with a courage and patience as pathetic as they were admirable.

No doubt it is as a writer that Oswald Barron will be best remembered. He possessed in a remarkable degree what one of his colleagues of the Press once described to me as ‘the gift of the unexpected word’. Perhaps the best piece of archaeological work that Barron accomplished was the editing of that brilliant periodical *The Ancestor*, to which he himself was the principal and outstanding contributor. Controversial though his articles often were, even those on whom his lash fell most stingily must, one thinks, have chuckled at his wit. And those great quartos, *Northamptonshire Families* and *Hertfordshire Families*, which he produced in the old days of V.C.H., are monuments of arduous research and patterns of solid archaeology of the kind that he knew best. They display in every line the author’s passion for truth and his unsparing condemnation of so much of that engaging nonsense which passed for genealogy before Barron and those who wrought with him took pen in hand.

But dearer, I believe, to Barron’s heart even than those massive archaeological feats was that astonishing output, over the pen-name of *The Londoner*, which flowed in a pellucid stream from his brain, day by day for something like thirty years. Some of us used to wait eagerly night after night for what O. B. had to say; many, I know, only bought the paper in which they appeared for the sake of those articles, which were so fresh and so pleasant

to read, and apparently produced with such ease. But those in his confidence knew well how Barron laboured at them, how he agonized to turn out those columns of flawless diction so that they satisfied his own perfect taste. How fascinating they were in their pretty affectation of antique verbiage, their new presentation of old things, their use of words and phrases which few writers seem able to command! In those *Londoner* papers we saw Barron at his best, Barron as his intimates knew him, precise, whimsical, learned, fastidious. I well remember a famous journalist saying to me, 'The *Londoner*'s articles are more than journalism; they are literature.' Alas! that he was only once persuaded to republish some of that fine stuff, a tiny volume of some thirty papers, which one on whose judgement he relied implicitly considered the best and most characteristic examples of the work of several years. It is now hard to come by a copy. The book fell very flat, and for an odd reason. Barron insisted on having it bound in black cloth; and he had his way, though any bookseller could have told him that the public simply will not look at books bound in black!

To us of the Society Oswald was best known and recognized as the greatest herald of to-day. Heraldry was indeed his chief and abiding love. 'The little science', as he called it, appealed to the archaeological side of him for its value as the handmaid of genealogy; to his orderly mind because of its precision; to his sense of beauty on account of the seemliness of its art. I shall never forget how, many years ago when he came to stay with me down in the west country, his first words as he walked into my study were: 'Where are the heraldry shelves?' It was a kind of second nature with him, an essential part of his being. And though he never thrust heraldry on people who had no interest in the matter, no man was more ready than he to help the student and to share that profound knowledge of the subject which his prodigious and unerring memory for names and blazons gave him.

But he had no patience with the tangle of nomenclature with which the handbooks had succeeded, augur-like, in making a beautiful simple thing difficult and obscure. Heraldry, he always felt—even the heraldry of days later than his beloved Middle Ages—ought to be, and properly handled could be, a thing of that common sense which was apparent to his eye in the ancient rolls of arms, the seals, and the heraldic paintings of the olden time. For that he fought with an amusing vehemence of vituperation which some of us who are proud to follow his teaching like to believe is having its effect.

When at the Coronation Barron became Maltravers we all knew that no honour could have been more grateful to him. It is pleasant to remember that not only Fellows of the Society but many others who admired *The Londoner* were able to show in a tangible way how greatly we rejoiced with him that that recognition of his merits and his learning had at length been made.

Once again Death has struck his blue pencil through an honoured name on the Society's roll, and though it will be hard to fill his place it is more than gratifying to us to whom Oswald Barron and his work were very dear to be sure that hands are already stretched out to carry forward his heraldic torch. For after all no man is irreplaceable; and though this man has gone from us we believe that his influence and the memory of him will endure.

E. E. D.

Reviews

London Churches at the Reformation. By H. B. WALTERS. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xii + 661. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1939. 25s.

The inventories of church goods taken as a result of the Royal Commissions of 1552 will always be, for specialists in a considerable number of subjects, a favourite hunting-ground. It is, indeed, the fact that such documents contain information relevant to so many different branches of study that makes it difficult to provide an adequate review of Mr. Walters's edition of the returns for the London parishes. Documents capable of such diverse employment present no one appropriate critical approach. Such indications as might be useful to an ecclesiologist would be of little use to the student going to the inventories, for instance, for information about the diffusion of printed service books before the Reformation.

It would seem best, then, to concentrate on the particular point that gives a special importance to the London returns. These documents are not merely inventories of the goods which survived in the churchwardens' hands in 1552. For London churchwardens were not simply asked to provide an inventory of their existing goods; they were asked also to supply a copy of an inventory made for Bishop Bonner in 1548, together with particulars of goods sold between 1548 and 1552. It is true that most of the parishes were unable to supply a copy of the 1548 inventory, and that some disclaimed all knowledge of it; but in a number of cases the churchwardens were able to provide some account of the possessions of their church in that year. And very often the accounts of goods sold are supplemented by statements of the objects to which the proceeds were devoted.

We are thus provided with the materials for a comparative survey covering the whole of the first six years of the reign of Edward VI, a period for which information of this kind is particularly valuable. The student of Church history during the crisis of the Reformation has often found himself in some difficulty in ascertaining the actual course of events so far as the parishes were concerned. He knows (from Statutes, Royal and Episcopal Injunctions, and so on) what ought to have happened; he knows also what is said to have happened by contemporary and generally biased observers. But what actually did happen is far less easy to determine. To what extent did London parishes anticipate Ridley's exhortation to them to replace their altars by Holy Tables? And, on the other hand, were there any London parishes which retained their altars until the Royal Order for their replacement, which lagged six months behind Ridley's initiative? Or, again, how far effective was the statute of 1549 for the destruction of Latin service books? No small part of the value of the documents edited by Mr. Walters is the evidence they supply on points like these.

Taken as a whole the returns provide a very clear picture of the way in which church goods passed into other hands during the period under survey. At first there was a good deal of casual misappropriation, the least repre-

hensible form of which was a tendency to return recent gifts to their donors. There is evidence, too, of what appear to be individual acts of Protestant lawlessness, like the theft of the pyx from St. Ethelburga's on Maundy Thursday, 1548. But for the most part, the alienation of church goods during this period was the natural, and by medieval standards quite normal, result of the financial difficulties of the parishes at that time. There was no tradition of the sacredness of church goods as such. Churchwardens, as Stephen Gardiner remarked, had always been prepared to sell on Easter Monday the Cross they had crept to on Good Friday. And the result of the religious changes of the time had been a reduction in the number of ornaments necessary for liturgical worship, and hence an increase in the number of those it was possible to dispose of, if necessity arose.

In fact, as we know, the religious changes coincided with a period of considerable financial difficulty. Even a hundred years later, the difficulty of ensuring that churches should be kept in good repair was still exercising both the ecclesiastical and the secular authorities. For the moment, however, the parishes could stave things off by the sale of church goods, the market for which had been extended (as appears incidentally from a passage in the returns for St. Leonard's, Foster Lane) by the emergence of a specialized class of speculators in such things. The intimate connexion between parochial necessity and the sale of church goods may be illustrated quite explicitly by a remark of the churchwardens of St. Christopher-le-Stock that, in one year, 'there was none of the church goods sold for that it was not needful'. Only in one parish is such alienation expressly connected with an 'ideological' motive; and it is significant that the incumbent of this church, St. Bride's, Fleet Street, was the well-known extremist preacher John Cardmaker. The same church was one of the very few where the proceeds of such sales are noted as having been used for the purposes of Poor Relief—an arrangement very much in the spirit of the Royal Injunctions of the time.

The inventories themselves throw a good deal of light on the liturgical life of the Church during the period when the 1549 Prayer Book was in use. The number of parishes which preserved their copes, while disposing entirely of their Mass vestments, shows the way in which the Ornaments Rubric was usually interpreted; though the existence of a small minority of churches without vestments of any kind provides further evidence (if that were necessary) that its provisions were not strictly enforced. Sundays and festivals were distinguished from 'work days' by the use of richer copes and richer coverings for the Holy Table—provisions which carry with them evidence, incidentally, of a fairly frequent celebration of the Holy Mysteries, at least in some parishes. A specific reference to 'a black velvet cope to sing the communion at the burial of the dead' is a reminder that the 1549 Book contained for such occasions a liturgical Proper.

Mr. Walters's edition of these returns is well indexed, and enriched with an introduction containing lists and glossaries which should earn him the gratitude of future students of documents of this kind. One is bound to regret that it should have been necessary to abridge the statements about the sales of goods and disposal of their proceeds; they form, after all, one

of the elements which give the London returns their unique value. One must recognize, however, that as complete an edition as one would have wished would lie outside the realms of economic possibility; and one's regret is at least tempered by a certain confidence that the careful editing of Mr. Walters has allowed little of material importance to be lost.

C. S. DREW.

Cahercommaun: A Stone Fort in County Clare, being the Extra Volume of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for 1938. By H. O'NEILL HENCKEN, D.Litt., F.S.A., M.R.I.A. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. vi+82 with 11 plates. Dublin: Falconer, 1938.

Cahercommaun is a small fortified manor house, occupied in the ninth century. The inner area, forming the dwelling of the chieftain and his dependants, is circular, about 100 ft. in diameter and surrounded by a strong defensive rampart of stone. Around are two concentric rings with slighter enclosing walls which are thought to be cattle pounds. Within the fort proper are several ill-defined structures. The most important, a circular hut 20 ft. in diameter and connected with two souterrains, is clearly the dwelling of the chief. Beside is a similar but slightly larger hut which the excavators record as next in importance. Its position and the discovery of numerous pins, probably for the hair, suggest that it formed the women's quarters. A minor criticism of the description concerns the distinction between ancient and modern walling on p. 7. On this site the stones set vertically or obliquely are clearly modern, but this is not invariably the case. At Tintagel masonry of this type occurs in many walls of the earliest medieval period.

Cahercommaun now takes its place with the crannogs of Lagore and Ballinderry as a dated example of the Irish dwellings of the centuries preceding the year 1000. The absence of pottery seems characteristic and stands in sharp contrast to the approximately contemporary culture of Larriban and other sites in Ulster (*Antiq. Journ.* xvi, 179). The most interesting individual find is the ring-headed silver brooch of the ninth century on which the dating of the whole site depends. The expanded terminals and their animal ornament belong to a well-defined style of which Dr. Hencken fully discusses the position in the sequence of Irish brooches.

C. A. R. R.

Der donauländische und der westische Kulturkreis der jüngeren Steinzeit.
By WERNER BUTTLER. (Handbuch der Urgeschichte Deutschlands, vol ii.) 11×8 . Pp. viii+108. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1938. Rm. 5.80.

This is the first published volume of the *Handbook of the Prehistory of Germany* which is to be published under the general editorship of Ernst Sprockhoff. A general notice bound with the volume explains that the handbook is designed to set out the present state of knowledge indicating those results which are securely established and those lacunae which require further research in order to confirm the tentative explanations put forward.

Twenty volumes by leading German scholars are designed to cover the various cultures from the Palaeolithic down to the Vikings. In addition we are promised volumes on such specialized subjects as ethnography, prehistoric religion, etc. The volume, while containing a short bibliography which will be useful to archaeologists, is also designed for the general reader who desires an authoritative account of recent research.

The first part of this volume deals with the Danubian cultures in so far as they concern Germany. It does not materially alter the essential lines already set out for English readers in Professor Childe's *Danube in Pre-history*, though more recent research and the greater scale of the present work enables the author to draw a much fuller picture. The origin of the Danubian cultures is attributed to the region covering Bohemia, Moravia, and the middle Danube, but the wider problem of the sources is not discussed. Distribution maps starting in central Hungary show the extent to which these cultures penetrated northwards and westwards to the Vistula, the middle Elbe, and the Meuse in Belgium. The various remains, villages and fortifications, houses and the objects themselves, especially the pottery, are described and classified. The reproductions of house and settlement plans and the reconstructions are particularly clear and valuable. On the basis of these we are shown a picture of the wandering groups of peasants settling for a few years to till the open spaces and rear their cattle and then deserting their villages in search of unexhausted soil. Köln-Lindenthal, where practically the whole site, with its four successive settlements, was explored, is the most valuable source, though its results are confirmed and extended by the extensive researches carried out on the Goldberg, at Aichbühl, and elsewhere. The Danubian in its narrower sense (*Linearbandkeramik*) and the Theiss cultures are shown to have been introduced into Germany by immigrants from the south-east. But the bearers of the stroke-ornamented (*Stichbandkeramik*) and Rössen wares are thought to have evolved on German soil beyond the area of Danubian settlement. Local Mesolithic hunters who adopted the settled economy of the intrusive peasants would form the basis of these two groups. The interrelations of these cultures and their connexions with other prehistoric peoples are considered, the whole covering the period from c. 2800 to c. 2200 B.C.

The western culture is a rather unsatisfactory term used to cover a group of related cultures of which the easternmost in the Rhine valley is known from the fortified village on the Michelsberg by Untergrombach. The more westerly of the cultures in northern France have been less thoroughly studied and the present account therefore lacks some of the clarity of that of the Danubians. For English archaeologists it has a particular interest as the source of our Neolithic A. But the Rhenish variety here studied is clearly parallel to and in no sense an ancestor of our own culture. For the north French distribution, to continue the maps here published, see Childe in *Archaeological Journ.* lxxxviii, 45. Finally this group includes the Horgen culture which is now known to be later than the Swiss parallel to Michelsberg known from the site at Cortaillod. Like the Danubians the western peoples in neolithic Germany had an economy mainly pastoral and agricultural. They lived in settled villages surrounded by fields and gardens.

But some degree of wider tribal organization is to be inferred both from the existence of huge fortifications like Urmitz, capable of holding 20,000 men, and from the evidence for trade on an extensive scale.

C. A. R. R.

Castles. A short history of fortifications from 1600 B.C. to A.D. 1600.
By SIDNEY TOY, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xiv + 241. London: Heinemann, 1939. 25s.

The ground-plans and sections of castles and towers which are a conspicuous feature of this book are the result of a study of the art of fortification which, to judge from the dates attached to them, has occupied our Fellow Mr. Toy for at least some fifteen years. The secondary title of the work sounds somewhat ambitious even for the compass of a short history, but Mr. Toy's extensive view ranges summarily over the early period with brief comment on outstanding points. His early chapters form a prelude to that continuous story which begins with the development of fortification under the influence of Rome and Byzantium; but their somewhat general character has been reinforced by personal observation, and in the plan and photograph of the outer pylons of Medinet Habu (*c.* 1200 B.C.) the working of principles may be discerned, as in the sketch of the crenellations of the city wall, which are common to all ages and which the student of their scientific improvement can refer to no single origin.

It is not Mr. Toy's purpose to enter into archaeological or historical controversy, and, when we come to the growth of the castle in England, he treats its Norman introduction as an established fact, without reference to the comparatively recent acceptance of that theory in place of that founded upon the confusion of the Saxon *burrh* with the Norman *castel*. The evidence of Domesday, the Bayeux tapestry, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Ordericus Vitalis and other chroniclers, however, has been so frequently quoted in this connexion that little more remains to be said about it, and it would have been superfluous to go over this well-trodden ground once more. Equally well worn is the subject of the Norman keep, and it is obvious that Mr. Toy's personal investigations have found a more fruitful field in the later part of the twelfth century, the age of the circular keep and the scientific treatment of the curtain-wall. His papers in recent volumes of *Archaeologia* on the round castles of Cornwall and on the town and castle of Conway deal with the periods in which he finds his most congenial subjects. This most interesting portion of his book opens with an account of Byzantine and Saracen fortifications, largely concerned with the twelfth-century castles which face each other across the Bosphorus, Roumeli Hissar and Anadoli Hissar. Excellent plans and sections are given of the Black Tower at the first of these, and of the donjons at Houdan, Provins, and Étampes, as well as of other cylindrical or rounded keeps such as Conisbrough and Clifford's Tower at York. The variety and fertility of device which continue throughout the thirteenth century are amply illustrated, while literary sources are laid under contribution for a chapter on siege engines and siege operations.

Naturally the Edwardian castles of Wales, with their exhibition of the

art of defence at its highest point of achievement, come in for special comment, and more is said of them in connexion with gatehouses and other defences of the curtain, especially with respect to the gatehouse at Denbigh and the King's Gate at Carnarvon. Throughout all this period, of course, improvement went on in the domestic arrangements of the castle, and the combination of fortified gateway with dwelling-house is well seen at Harlech and Beaumaris. But the development of this side of castle architecture is outside Mr. Toy's scheme and comes into contact with it only where the dwelling-house and fortress are merged together in one connected scheme and the house ceases to be merely sheltered behind the curtain. Of late years certain writers, chief among them Dr. Douglas Simpson, have paid minute attention to those castles of the later middle ages of which the tower-house is the outstanding feature and which range from palace-castles such as Pierrefonds or the castle of the Teutonic Knights at Marienwerder to the strong towers of Scotland and the north of England. With this aspect of fortification, quite distinct from the gradual supersession of the castle by the manor-house whose crenellations were merely nominal, Mr. Toy deals before he reaches the end of his story in the sixteenth-century forts of the south coast of England.

It is a long way from the days of Roman supremacy to the martello tower, to say nothing of that early and remote period whose evidence is less coherent. Mr. Toy, relying on his plans, drawings, and fine photographs, all of his own taking, to assist his descriptions of individual buildings, writes with brevity and lucidity. The handsome book-jacket with a coloured picture and plans of Caesar's Tower at Warwick offers a tempting invitation to readers which the contents of the book thoroughly justify. It affords an introduction to its subject of more than ordinary value on which the author may be sincerely congratulated. While it is in no sense a guide to individual castles, and while there is more than one conspicuous example of castle architecture which receives no mention or merely a passing comment, it fulfils its purpose in its logical and highly intelligible treatment of a theme which requires close observation, and the leading features of which may easily be obscured by insistence on details interesting in themselves but of minor importance.

A. HAMILTON THOMPSON.

A Descriptive Catalogue of Land-Charters and Muniments relating to Vills and Burghs of North Derbyshire; with illustrations, genealogies, and notes. Compiled by T. WALTER HALL. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 7. Pp. viii + 32. Sheffield: Northend, 1939.

It must have been with a pardonable feeling of satisfaction that Mr. Hall recalled in the Preface to this distinctive and attractive volume the circumstances of the publication of its earliest precursor in the year 1909. Since then he has for thirty years called the attention of his fellow citizens to 'the importance of collecting and classifying, for use in the Sheffield Public Library, early land-charters, manor-rolls, wills, genealogies and maps, relating to people and places in and around the city of Sheffield'. A

magnificent response to this appeal has enabled Mr. Hall to suggest that 'there are few cities or towns in England which to-day have a more important or far-reaching collection' of those local records. But apart from this acquisition, many public and private libraries have been enriched by acquiring at a very small cost twenty-three volumes published by Mr. Hall containing 'translations, transcriptions, and abstracts of local records, with illustrations, genealogies, indexes, and notes', compiled with judgement and skill by a legal antiquary whose scholarly research and inspiration are exemplified in the bibliography appended to the volumes in a series of local texts which must be almost unique in this country.

The present volume (which we are told may be the last) contains seventy deeds, relating mostly to vills and burghs of north Derbyshire; but this portion of the county includes picturesque and historical jurisdictions like the ancient forest of the Peak, with the famous castle in the High Peak of the infamous William Peverel, now scheduled as an historical monument. This demesne was granted to John of Gaunt in the fourteenth century, and like Chesterfield and other pleasant boroughs it may have been a Roman camp before it became a Norman bailiwick. Moreover, ancient forest and fertile dale are associated with the names of families who are mentioned in the 'charters', which Mr. Hall has brought together and interpreted with a wealth of local knowledge. Although he cannot here, as elsewhere, deposit these documents in the Sheffield Public Library, since they are now in the British Museum, Mr. Hall has obtained photostat copies, specimens of which are published in this volume.

H. H.

Early German Art and its Origins. From the beginnings to about 1050. By HAROLD PICTON. With a foreword by Prof. JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI. 10½ x 6½. Pp. xii + 148. London: Batsford, 1939. 21s.

This splendidly illustrated work unquestionably has its value, but with its help we study the early phases of Germanic art rather as a bee may be conceived to investigate botany. In 140 pages we survey all forms of early ornament, with visits to Hallstatt and La Tène, architecture, wall-painting, manuscript illumination, sculpture, work in bone, ivory, and bronze, enamel, jewellery, and many incidental things as well. And so we can hardly expect anything more than a bee's-eye view.

About round and square east ends, for example, we read: 'In the apse we may be inclined to see Rome only, but further consideration may lead us to see here not only Rome but reminiscences of a Northern stone tradition.' There follows a reference to Irish round towers, but there is no mention of the fact that Ireland may be searched in vain for any apse built previous to the Anglo-Norman conquest, nor is there any reference to such Germanic Romanesque square east ends as may be found in the cathedrals of Bremen and Zürich. Accounts of German double-transect and hall churches are equally sketchy and confused. Throughout the work hardly any point raised is adequately discussed. That is its great fault.

The writer is so devoted a pupil of Strzygowski that he would like to

get rid of the term 'Romanesque' altogether. The eastern origin of much that used to be ascribed to Greece or Rome is now generally recognized, and this book throws considerable new light on that subject. Perhaps the best sections deal with manuscript illuminations and certain early works in bronze, particularly in the cathedral at Hildesheim. The references are very full and facts given are reliable. We may agree with the final remark: 'A gallery of Italian masters is calm and cool, a gallery of German art restless, enquiring and often unsatisfying.'

The publishing is worthy of Batsford's reputation and the photographs are well reproduced, nearly a hundred whole pages with numerous other illustrations.

IAN C. HANNAH.

Periodical Literature

Antiquity, September 1939:—Domesday water mills, by Margaret T. Hodgen; Air reconnaissance of Roman Scotland, by O. G. S. Crawford; Pliska, by I. Welkow; Ras Shamra, 1929–39, by T. H. Gaster; Modern views on the Italian terremare, by D. Randall-MacIver; Mapungubwe, by G. Caton-Thompson and G. M. Morant; Wattled houses in Scotland; Discoveries in Rome; Karanovo, Bulgaria; Submerged boat at North Ferriby; Byzantine water-mill; The plough and terracing; Ras Shamra-Ugarit; Photographic surveys; The chambered tomb in Beowulf; Routes in Southern Arabia.

Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, Autumn 1939:—Uniforms of the 25th Foot, c. 1771, by Rev. P. Sumner; Early history of the Black Watch, by Major I. H. M. Scobie; Photography in the Crimean War, vi, by Capt. H. Oakes-Jones; The battle of the Tchernaya, 16th August 1855: a contemporary account by Lieut. R. Biddulph, by Brig.-Gen. H. Biddulph; The capture of Quebec: a journal kept by Colonel Malcolm Fraser, by Brig. R. O. Alexander; An officer, 15th Hussars, c. 1827, by Rev. P. Sumner; Some criticism of military equipment, 1066–1900, by C. ffoulkes; Regimental museums: the Northamptonshire regiment, by Rev. P. Sumner.

British Museum Quarterly, vol. 13, no. 3:—A Northern Wei dynasty figure of Buddha; A Seljuq hoard from Persia; A sardonyx cameo portrait of Claudius; An illustrated Greek manuscript of c. 1500; A post-medieval illuminated manuscript from Constantinople; A Barking Abbey rental; An early Babylonian stone figure of a boar; Gold figure of a goat from Iraq; The Carmichael head, from Egypt; A gold scarab; Excavations.

The British Numismatic Journal, vol. 23, part 1:—The coins of Eadmund's moneyers Faraman and Ingelgar, 939–46 A.D., by H. A. Parsons; The Stamford and Peterborough mints, ii, by W. C. Wells; Long Cross coins of Durham, by L. A. Lawrence; Dies in the Public Record Office, 1938, by D. Allen; The first issue of David II, by H. J. Dakers; The heavy coinage of Henry VI, i, by C. A. Whitton; An Oxford hoard of the time of the Civil Wars, by A. Thompson; The 'Weymouth' and 'Salisbury' mints of Charles I, by D. Allen; British medals since 1760, continued, by Col. M. H. Grant; A new imitation of a Short Cross penny; An unpublished heavy penny of Edward IV; A Bristol half-angel of Henry VI; 'Gilded Twopences'; Unpublished varieties in the 'milled' series; Private tokens of Sir S. B. Peckham-Micklethwaite; Some notes on Scottish coins.

The Burlington Magazine, September 1939:—Two glass panels after designs by Hans Holbein, by W. Cohn; A statue by Roubiliac, by A. C. Sewter.

October 1939:—Donatello's angels for the Siena font: a reconstruction, by Jenő Lányi; The so-called 'Kubachi' wares of Persia, by A. Lane.

The Connoisseur, August 1939:—Old Scots silver in Scottish churches, by I. Finlay; American furniture of the Federal period, i, by E. Wenham; A letter concerning the Horse Armoury in the Town of London from Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, 1827.

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Helen E. Donovan and A. J. E. Cave; Gloucester Roman research committee, report for 1938–39, by W. H. Knowles; Robert Sturmy of Bristol, by Rev. F. W. Potto Hicks; Surface flints from Leonard Stanley, by Instructor Commander H. S. Gracie; An 18th century flagon from Arlingham, by C. I. Gardiner; A Roman coin hoard from Bristol, by Anne S. Robertson; Bristol gold and silversmiths and clock and watch makers, by H. E. Morton and C. R. Hudleston; Stencilled wall-paintings, Northleach, by F. W. Reader; Two vanished Fishponds houses, by A. B. Robinson and C. R. Hudleston; Shrewsbury (Talbot) manuscripts: Gloucestershire references, by Edith S. Scroggs; Roman altars in Gloucestershire, by E. M. Clifford; Excavations at Berkeley castle, by the Earl of Berkeley; Founders' book of Tewkesbury abbey; Bristol charters; Coffin slab, Bristol cathedral; Underground chambers, Misserden; Strainer and pottery, Lydney; Bas relief, Calcot Barn; Beaker found at Prestbury, by E. M. Clifford and A. J. E. Cave; Lillyhorn Villa, Bisley; Gloucester antiquities; St. Anne's chapel, Brislington; Gloucester wills; Bisley crosses; New Corinium museum, Cirencester; Sir Robert Atkyns, the younger.

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Research Studies of the State College of Washington, vol. 7, no. 1:—Christopher Smart in London, by R. B. Botting.

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Tome 43, part 1:—The village of Gesves, 1000–1800, ii, by Baron M. Houtart.

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Revue Archéologique, 6^e sér., tome 13, avril–juin 1939:—Excavations in Western Asia, 1937–8, by G. Couteau; The knee, seat of strength and life, and its magical protection, by W. Deonna; Celtic horse-standards, by R. Lantier; The cords of the sun, by A. H. Krappe.

Bulletin Monumental, vol. 98, fasc. 2:—The porch of Mauriac and of Ydes: their affinity with the art of Languedoc and Limousin, by P. Quarré; The Norman technique of the thick wall in the Romanesque period, by J. Bony; The employment of double arches beneath Romanesque vaults, by H. and E. du Ranquet; The churches of Rhuis and Saint-Waest, Longmont, by F. Deshoulières; The monastic church of Cassiodore, Calabria, by M. Aubert.

Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française, tome xxxvi, no. 6 (juin 1939):—Palaeoliths of St. Acheul type were exhibited by M. Burkhalter from Latakia, Syria; and a discussion of the Chalosse industry initiated by M. Lummau, with a page of illustrations and references. Pottery inlaid with tin, found near Vallon, Ardèche, is discussed by MM. Coutier and Sordes and a diagram of a specimen supplied. Dr. Marchand gives sketches of implements made from flakes collected on new sites near Ouled Djellal (Touggourt, Algiers), and there is a long illustrated article by Dr. Renaud on a humpback in the pantheon of the Pueblo Indians, dating from pre-Columbian times.

Nos. 7–8 (juillet–août 1939):—The only article is by M. Guenin on megalithic monuments of the Morbihan, the treatment of which in some cases has met with criticism. The Secretary-general of the Society here confronts the Megalithic Monuments Commission and pleads for less restoration and falsification of the stones of Brittany.

Revue française d'Héraldique et de Sigillographie, tome 2, no. 2:—The arms of His Holiness Pope Pius XII, by M. Noirot; An armorial of the families of Monaco and Mentone, by H. L. Rabino de Borgomale; Heraldry

in provincial museums: The Fragonard museum at Grasse, by E. Secretan; Inescutcheons in French imperial heraldry, by F. Cadet de Gassicourt; What was the origin of the family of Guers? by J. J. Waltz.

Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de la Corrèze, vol. 61, parts 1-2.—Brive as seen by geographers and travellers in the eighteenth century, by J. Nouillac; Notes on some Limousin sculptures: i, the reliquary of St. Fortunada, by Mlle M. Charageat; Cardinal Dubois and the College of Brive, by J. Eyssartier; Social and rural conditions under the ancien régime, by L. de Nussac; Decrees of the parlement of Bordeaux concerning the Limousin in the sixteenth century; Diary of Antoine Clavières, judge of Beaulieu and seneschal of the Vicomté of Turenne, by R. Bohmer.

Nachrichtenblatt für Deutsche Vorzeit, 15. Jahrg., Heft 1:—A new method of reckoning the absolute chronology of early prehistoric find-spots, by G. Schwantes; Exploration in the North Frisian shallows, by A. Bantelmann; Prehistoric discoveries on the Hamburg-Berlin road, by H. Morgenroth; Early and Middle Mesolithic hut ground-plans at Pinnberg, by U. Rust; Excavations in a habitation site of the stone-grave culture in Husum, by H. Schwabedissen; A funnel-beaker from Neumünster, by K. W. Struve; The tumulus at Warringholz, by G. Haseloff; Examination of the 'Königs-hügel' at Haithabu by H. Arzman; The excavation of an urn graveyard of the Early Iron Age at Lanze, by E. Reinbacher; Examination of an urn graveyard at the 'Hesterburg' in Drage, by H. Schwabedissen; A stone age tumulus with burials of the Migration period at Peissen, by H. Schönberger; A bronze age tumulus with burials of the Migration period at Fockbek, by G. Haseloff; The north gate of Stellerburg, by G. Haseloff; Viking age graves at Süder-brarup, by D. Lund; The excavation of a Viking age tumulus at Wedel-spang, by K. Kersten; The excavations at Haithabu in 1938, by H. Jankuhn; The first discovery of a Viking age doorway at Haithabu, by M. B. Rudolph; Plant remains from the Haithabu excavations of 1937, by M. Beyle.

Heft 2:—The problem of Old Stone Age investigation in the German Alps, by L. F. Zott; The possibilities and limits of petrography in the investigation of prehistoric finds, by F. R. Schmitt; A scratched drawing of an Ice Age man in Balver Höhle, Westphalia, by C. Albrecht; A new German chieftain's grave at Straže in Slovakia, by L. F. Zott; West German 'wart' beaker from the Mark of Brandenburg, by O. Widdel; Report on activities in Baden, 1937-8, by G. Kraft; The new prehistoric museum at Freiburg, by G. Kraft; The Baden national catalogue of pre- and protohistoric discoveries, by G. Kraft; Report on activities in Hohenzollern, 1938, by E. Peters; Discoveries in Württemberg, by O. Paret.

Heft 3:—The survey of 'Volkstekunde' in 1938, by W. Schultz; The work of the survey for 'Volkstekunde', by P. Grimm; The investigation of two megalithic graves in 'Wotz', Salzwedel, by U. Fischer; Fortified settlement of the Michelsberg culture at Hutberg near Wallendorf, by F. Benesch; Investigation of culture strata with briquetage in Halle-Giebichenstein, by W. A. v. Brunn; A house plan of the late Bronze Age at Gorsleben, by K. Ziegel; Row-graves of the Thuringian age at Wörmlitz,

by W. A. v. Brunn; Excavations at the imperial palace of Tilleda, by K. Ziegel; A German fort of the 10th-11th century at Kretzschau-Groitschen, by P. Grimm; Investigation of a medieval fort at Goddula, by G. Mildenberger.

Germania, Jahrgang 23, Heft 3:—Representation of faces on vases of the Theiss culture, by G. Csallány; Gold finds of the barrow period Bronze Age from Württemberg, by A. Rieth; A stone cist grave at Grossenritte, Hesse, by G. von Merhart; A Hallstatt hoard from Schorlenberg, by F. Sprater; Early and late sigillata by Arcanus, by R. Knorr; A cemetery of the third century at Helzendorf, by W. D. Asmus; Sweden and the Carolingian empire, by L. Hussong; A tumulus of the Middle La Tène age at Dauborner, by F. Sprater; Two La Tène brooches from Lämmerspiel, by W. Kersten; Cohors I Tungrorum and the oracle of the Clarian Apollo, by E. Birley; The coating of sigillata and allied ceramic, by F. Lossen; A bronze bucket from Eining, by J. Werner.

Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, 6^a ser., vol. 14, fasc. 7-12:—Two terracotta figures from Aksum, by C. Conti Rossini; Gaius Memmio, to whom the poem of Lucretius was dedicated, by G. Della Valle.

Fornvännen, 1939, häfte 3:—Stucco work by Daniel Anckerman, dating from mid 16th century, is described by Wilhelm Nisser; and Björn Helmfrid discusses a grave-slab with runes between 1280 and 1320 in the derelict church at Ukna in north-east Småland. A horse's head of solid bronze is regarded by Birger Nerman as belonging to a horse-drawn sun-chariot like that of Trundholm. A find of the late Stone Age in Gotland, consisting of a boat-shaped stone axe-head, perforated boars' tusks and a dagger of antler, is described by Märten Stenberger, with illustrations. There are notes on Thing-mounds by Arthur Nordén, and on textile fragments of the Roman Iron Age by Agnes Geijer.

Häfte 4:—The question of magic in mesolithic decoration is discussed at length by Elsie Hultén, who provides nine illustrations. The summary is in English, and it is maintained that all typical Maglemose patterns are direct copies of seams in leather or other materials, the idea being to strengthen the object ornamented by simulated stitching. Rune Norberg gives details of the Codex Gisle at Osnabrück, and favours a date late in the thirteenth century. Axel Bergstrand points out the need for organizing and stimulating local effort among those who undertake to preserve and report antiquities of their districts.

Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund: Årsberättelse, 1938-9:—Two churches with peculiar decoration, by Monica Rydbeck; The European Bronze Age, by J. E. Forssander.

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